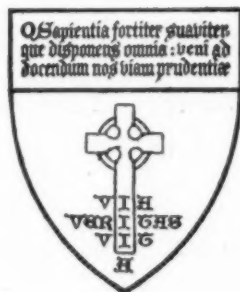


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FREDERICK C. GRANT and BURTON S. EASTON

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IN SEARCH OF A THEORY OF PRAYER

By ANGUS DUN, Episcopal Theological School

Prayer, like all practice, needs a theoretical basis for its healthy maintenance. It needs the background of a world view in which it can take its place as an intelligible form of behavior. We can probably agree that the practice of prayer is now suffering from the lack of such a basis, or rather from the occupation of men's minds by views of the world which give prayer little or no standing ground.

This is not to suggest that men first form a systematic view of their universe and then proceed to the practice of Prayer. It is a commonplace that prayer has its beginnings in intensely felt emotional needs and breaks from the heart of man long before he has fashioned a developed world view. It is equally apparent that when prayer is once rooted in human practice, it carries on very largely by the power of custom. Impulsive prayer and conventional prayer can be relatively thoughtless. But thinking will out. The practice of prayer always carries theoretical implications with it, and deep in the minds of those who pray, however impulsively or conventionally, some view of the world is struggling into the light.

We may doubt whether theoretical difficulties are the chief obstacles to a vigorous life of prayer. Languor of spirit, absorption in other interests, distaste for the concentration it requires may be the greater obstacles. Nevertheless theoretical difficulties

are a large source of our hesitation, our confusion of aim, our uneasy sense that the act lacks integrity. Surely in many lives there is now going on a confused warfare between vague theoretical forces and impulses to prayer, whether those impulses spring from inner needs, or from the persistent invitations of the religious community to join in prayer. As is always the case, the measure of conviction necessary to release prayer will vary inversely with the felt need. Men in desperate straits, with no other resources, will pray on the bare chance that there may be something in it. And men under strong social pressures will repress their doubts in the interests of conformity. But if men in reasonably favorable circumstances are to pray, it must be because they believe it matters. At the present time many who feel drawn to religion, and who want for themselves what religion offers, are torn between the recommendations to prayer which religion makes and their usually vague theoretical discontents. It is surely the work of theologians, as a part of their ministry to the Church, to bring these theoretical difficulties into the fullest possible light and help men to pray with an eased and clarified mind.

When we set out in search of a theory of prayer, we must face at once the question, Of what kind of prayer? For prayer is a complex and many sided practice. A theory which would sustain one kind of prayer would not lend its support to every kind. Long before prayer began to feel the purging and inhibiting effects of philosophic and scientific criticism it underwent the self-criticism of religion. As men concerned to clarify and defend religion there is no need for us to seek the theoretical foundations for types of prayer which religion itself has rejected.

The crudest form of prayer is that which we may best designate as Magical Prayer. It is a practice whereby men seek through the saying of correct formulas to gain control over the hidden forces which control existence. Plainly much that has gone under the name of prayer has been of this type. It constantly recurs within advanced religions and threatens to reappear from time to time in the life of every pray-er. How easy it is for the faithful Christian to feel that something has been accomplished in the

unseen when the formula of the Lord's Prayer has been said. To borrow an image used recently by Dean Sperry, men fumble with the knob on the closed door of the Unseen, hoping to hit upon the three gos to the right, two 6os to the left, which will release the bolt and open to them the treasure. But religion, in the person of its prophets and founders and saints, has long since turned its back on Magical Prayer. We can pass it by.

Leaving Magical Prayer behind, there are two chief forms of prayer that have an unquestionable place within the life of high religion, and especially of Christianity. These we may helpfully distinguish as Contemplative Prayer and Conversational Prayer. Of these two Conversational Prayer is the more primitive, the more universal and the more characteristically Christian; Contemplative Prayer is the more specialized and aristocratic. It will fit better the argument to consider first Contemplative Prayer.

As the name implies, this form of prayer has contemplation as its end. In it men seek to redirect their attention away from the imperfections of the realm of sense to the perfection which is God. By arduous disciplines of detachment and concentration they seek to break the hold which bodily desires and secular interests within, and sense impressions and an inviting world without, exercise over their minds, and prepare themselves for a vision of God. Such prayer is cognitive, or gnostic, and appreciative in its nature, rather than volitional. It has much in common with æsthetic experience in that in it men seek, not to get something done, but to apprehend and enjoy and participate in a satisfying good. Moral life tends to be viewed as primarily an ascetic, purgative discipline in preparation for the gaining of this vision. Since there must be some deep conformity between the mind and that which it apprehends, since only an ordered mind can apprehend order and only a pure mind can apprehend purity, the mind must be ordered and cleansed and unified to apprehend God. If results are sought in this type of prayer beyond the satisfaction of vision, they are chiefly the effects of contemplation in the heart and mind of the mystic. The great contemplatives have verified what we can all verify at lower levels, that contemplation is one

of the most effectual disciplines for the reshaping of the heart, that adaptation to environment reaches into the realm of the spirit. Peaceful objects contemplated breed peace in the beholder, refined objects refinement, holy objects holiness. A world bent on accomplishment might well pause to consider the products of the prayer of quiet.

This type of prayer has an honorable place in the history of Christianity, especially in the strong current of Neo-Platonic mysticism which can be traced from Augustine through the medieval mystics. Yet one could hardly say that it is distinctively Christian. It is entirely compatible with, indeed tends towards, an impersonal and static view of God. Left to itself, as it seldom has been within Christianity, it depends upon a thought of God as the Eternal, pure, ideal Being, that which ultimately *is*, in comparison with which all the world of sense is unreal, or poor reflection. Its God is not One who wills and does, not an actor in the scene, save as the Ideal draws men to behold and imitate. The religion which centers in Contemplative Prayer tends to be world-renouncing, the prayer of detached ascetics. Or it swings over into pantheism and becomes the contemplation of the beauty of the world process, of the wonder and mystery of natural life, and blends imperceptibly with aestheticism. In either form it moves away from the strongly moral and volitional and world transforming notes of Christianity. If we are seeking a theory of Christian prayer we can not rest in the contemplative type, though many noble spirits find a refuge in it when driven back by theoretical difficulties or revolted by the crudity of much that passes as Christian prayer.

The most common form of prayer within all religion, and the most unmistakably Christian form, is what I am calling Conversational Prayer. It is the type which our old Irish cook, Lizzie, meant when she used to say after a hard day's work that she was going down to the Church to have "a little talk with the Lord." In conversation we seek to meet another mind and will, to exchange thoughts and share interests. The postulates of conversation are that there is another mind within range of com-

munication. The motives of conversation are many; to seek the aid of another in gaining our ends, or give thanks for help already given, to give or gain knowledge, to unburden the self of that which it finds a lonely business to carry alone, to enjoy the satisfactions of companionship.

Prayer of the conversational type closely parallels ordinary conversation. It is the attempt of men to meet an Other Mind and establish communications. In any form it postulates a thoroughly personal idea of God. If God is a doer and provider it includes practical interests, concern with the Divine action in the future or the past. If its God is only a thinker and a dreamer it is limited to companionship in thought and purpose.

Conversational Prayer differs from ordinary conversation in that there is no bodily symbol or organ of presence and no sensory medium of communication. To be sure, religion has often localized its gods in special places and sought out those places for meeting. But religion moves towards the thought of a God "unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid." The question then arises how prayer is to be distinguished from the constant openness of our thoughts to God. And the only answer can be that it is a matter of intention. God, we may say, *overhears* all our talking and thinking. We only *converse* with Him when we direct our thought to Him. High religion aspires to a condition in which prayer shall be constant, all life being Godward in its intention. This is expressed in the prayer of Henry Sylvester Nash: "Enlighten our minds with the light of thine own reason, inform our will with thy eternal purpose, and so make our daily work a prayer."

A still greater problem is how men may identify the divine response. In human conversation we normally assume the words that come from the other body to be the intended communication of the other mind to us. In prayer we can only find the response of God in the thoughts which communion gives birth to in our own consciousness. The possibility which exists even in human conversation of confusing our own thoughts with the intended meanings of the other mind is greatly increased in prayer. Bishop

Burnet in his *History of His Own Times*, speaks of a Presbyterian uncle of his, who "went into very high notions of lengthened devotions, in which he continued many hours a day: He would often pray in his family two hours at a time and had an unexhausted copiousness that way. What thought soever struck his fancy during these effusions he looked on it as an answer of prayer and was wholly determined by it." Evidently Bishop Burnet felt that his devout uncle did not sufficiently follow the Johannine advice to "try the spirits whether they are of God." We need in prayer the check of recollection. We test the real meanings of the Other Mind by what we judge to be in character with what we believe of God from past communications and especially from what we have learned from the "friends of God."

The means of communication, normally the spoken word, inevitably assume a different place in prayer from that which they occupy in human conversation. In the latter they are essential. In prayer the communication has occurred when the thought is sincerely directed to God. The spoken word is only the important aid to this interior act.

Within the broad field of Conversational Prayer the history of religion shows two contending forces at work. One we may call man's self-assertiveness, his naïve assurance of the importance of his own wants and their claims to be satisfied. The other we may call God's assertiveness, the claims of His will on man. In primitive religion and in popular religion at all times prayer is emphatically active, seeking, outspoken, primarily the unburdening of man's heart and mind to God. It seeks chiefly to secure God's aid for man's ends, to gain food and victory and protection and public well-being. The level of this seeking varies with the elevation of man's wants. It is the spontaneous utterance of man's demands upon his world. But with the heightening of God-consciousness there arises a counter tendency to submissiveness and self-surrender. And this tendency reaches its height in those whom we recognize as the greatest religious personalities. The thought of God's power calls out expressions of dependence. The thought of the perfection of the Divine Will renders men critical of their own wants.

The classical expression of this note in prayer is, of course, Jesus' prayer, "Not my will but thine be done." That prayer is in line with the dominant emphasis in His teaching about the nature of true religion. One for whom the first commandment is that we love God with all our hearts, one who seeks first the rule of God and His righteousness, who has radically subordinated all other attachments and loyalties to the service of God, must faithfully reflect this emphasis in His praying. But in Jesus' thought the Will of God does not destroy the will of man, for God is "our Father" and the will which loses itself in His will finds itself in Him who is man's true good. Man's false self-assertiveness is destroyed only to make way for the assertiveness of God for man. In the Augustinian phrase this is the service which is perfect freedom. When the Father's name is hallowed man attains his true dignity as the son.

Whatever we may think regarding the fidelity of the main stream of Christian prayer to this emphasis, there can be little doubt but that it has been steadily reiterated by the great Christian teachers. Thomas Aquinas gave the principle clear expression when he wrote, "It is clear that he does not pray who, far from uplifting himself to God requires that God shall lower Himself to him, who resorts to prayer not to stir the man in us to will what God wills, but only to persuade God to will what the man in us wills." In line with this is the thought carried on from St. Paul that Christian prayer is only possible when the Spirit prays in us, when God within reaches out and answers to God without.

This emphasis has carried with it constant misgivings as to the propriety of giving a place in prayer to anything save the will for spiritual ends. A. L. Lilley reports that the Christian Fathers went so far as to interpret the "Give us this day our daily bread" of the Lord's Prayer as a request for spiritual food. Gregory wrote: "These are the things for which your desires may cry aloud to God continually and with all possible insistence,—that you may gain the benediction of His grace, that you may be pleasing in His eyes who is righteousness itself, that you may live in Him and die in Him, that you may earn the right to behold

His glory and to enjoy Himself for ever. For it is of these things that it is said, 'Pray without ceasing.' "

Those who have dipped into the writings of Meister Eckhart will have found there the extremest expression of this tendency, in his stress on obedience and self-emptying as the highest Christian virtues, leading to an almost contentless prayer, in which man, willing nothing, permits God to will in him. A similar note recurs in Fenelon's teaching that a disinterested desire for the prevailing of the Divine will is the only pure motive of prayer, and that a man should not even strive for his own salvation. Here the exaltation of the Divine Will has all but blotted out the human will.

These extremer tendencies are certainly off-center from a Christian standpoint, if the mind of Christ be taken as normative. In His teaching on prayer the childlike and spontaneous utterance of human needs and the insistent seeking for all the goods of life is checked and overruled, but not suppressed, by submission to the will of God. The prayer which conforms to His paradoxical teaching is that in which man comes to God with all his insistent wants, and shares them with God, confessing some of them to be unworthy and seeking to put them aside, knowing some of them to be born of his ignorance in asking, and giving himself with a whole heart to those he has recognized as God's purposes.

These limitations on man's self-assertion in prayer and these misgivings as to what may properly find a place in prayer are all religiously motivated. They do not arise from doubts as to the power of God or His freedom of action, but solely from doubts as to what men may suitably ask from God. But when we examine the limitations which we are inclined to place upon prayer we see that they do not arise from what Edwyn Bevan has called "spiritual priggishness," but rather from doubts as to any possible efficacy in prayer for other than spiritual ends.

If the life of prayer in the past has felt a tension between man's self-assertion and the assertion of God, prayer in the modern world is complicated by the insistent claims of another factor which we may call rather loosely the world, as including both

nature and history. No doubt the world is ever with us. Religion has always had to deal with it. Sometimes it has judged it to be a mistake or a prison house, something to be left at one side by the seeker after God. At other times, notably within Judaism and Christianity, it has judged it to be God's world. In that case the doings of the world, events of nature and events of history, have been seen as ultimately God's doings. Spiritual causation was viewed as supreme. All happenings are then to be traced to wills, God's or man's, demons' or angels'. The ultimate relationships are between spirits. In the modern consciousness, focussed in natural science, the world as an independent reality has asserted itself with unprecedented force. Men seriously doubt whether it is God's World except in a very remote sense. They find the sources of events *in* the world within the world itself, ultimately in the nature of the whole system. We all experience the conflict between our religious and our scientific imaginations in countless familiar ways. The newborn child, seen by the religious imagination as a direct gift from God for whom thanksgiving is to be made, is seen by the scientific imagination as the result of man's cooperation with potentialities within nature. At the most we can thank God for the abstract possibilities. It would be trite to multiply examples. As the religious imagination retreats, prayer retreats with it. Interests which once found an unquestioned place in Christian prayer,—in safety at sea, in sickness and health, in the welfare of those beyond the reach of our own care,—are ushered out of the house of prayer, to find furtive expression in times of desperate need or retain an uneasy and unconvinced place in conservative books of common prayer.

If retreating prayer makes a stand in the face of these forces threatening its extinction, it is likely to find its strongest position in the region of man's moral and spiritual interests, in the unseen world. Nature is turned over to science. History is seen as the interaction of nature and man. As far as nature is concerned, a deistic position is adopted. God gave the natural order its total character. Or what is not in effect very different, His action in

that order is so law abiding that it ceases to be the dealing of a personal will with concrete situations and is patterned on the abstract dealing of scientific intelligence with classes of objects. God deals in generalities, with births and deaths, not my birth and my death. The point at which God may enter the world creatively and redemptively is limited to the channels opened up by obedient human wills and open minds. All further effects in nature or human relationships are results of the new direction taken by the human will acting in obedience to the Divine Will. Here we tend to the conception of a God who has wishes for His world, thoughts for His world, but who does nothing in His world except through the agency of inspired men. He is a trustee of high hopes for His world, and men may share and actualize those hopes. Within some such view as this prayer may be seen as the practice by which men seek to conform their wills to the will of God and so become instrumental to His purposes, a purpose unfulfilled until men coöperate.

The world picture which results is somewhat as follows: Our human life is placed in the setting of inanimate and animate nature, as the law-abiding stage on which the drama of our life is worked out. God, who has planned the setting and placed us as the only self-conscious and potentially purposeful actors in it, does not directly alter the setting. It is a moving scene which unfolds according to the physical and organic forces at work within it. Since we men are physically a part of it, we have some considerable power to alter the scene for ourselves and for other lives. God is the director of the drama. He has a living purpose for every actor, changing according to the constantly changing relationships between the actors and the natural scene. When an actor is sensitively obedient to every suggestion from God, conforms his purpose to the Divine intention, his part becomes a good one, tragic often, but good. And prayer is the practice of opening our minds and wills to God's mind and will that we may learn to play a better part. On this basis prayer may be seen as a very significant practice. For even granting that the course of nature is little modified and the course of history only very partially

deflected as the secondary result of prayer, still, the meaning of events to those who experience them is greatly changed and that in turn shapes their dealing with them and the look of those events to other men. In some such way as this we may see the will of Jesus, rendered responsive and obedient to the will of God by much wrestling in prayer, bearing the will of God into the tangled scene of nature and human action, seeing it all in a new light, dealing with it all with new purposes and changing the look and feel of the whole scene and action for other men.

Within such a view there could be no intelligible place for any prayer save that which represents an effort to make one's own concrete purposes conformable to the purpose of God. Intercession could hardly have a place. The suggestion often made that intercession may operate by some sort of telephatic effect on those for whom we pray and so be seen as a part of the causal interconnections of the world, really takes it out of the realm of prayer and turns it into a kind of psychic science.

This general theory of prayer is a compromise between religion and science which can hardly be wholly satisfactory to either. It has the appeal of apparently falling in line with the tendency of spiritual religion to concentrate on purely spiritual objectives. It has the dubious apologetic advantage of being in a position to account for some of the tragic experiences of life by explaining that they are the result of God's laws and not of His personal will. At the same time it avoids some of the most pressing doubts which science has created as to the possible scope of prayer's effectiveness. But this alliance between religious and scientific motives is an uneasy one. For both parties to the compromise the boundary line is obscure and both want to press over it. Science constantly seeks to press its principles of interpretation, its classifications and generalizations, its study of interconnections, further into the region of human behavior and consciousness. Religion finds it hard to restrict God's action to the realm of meanings and human purposes, when they are so plainly part and parcel of their whole context. It finds it hard, for example, to see God's presence in the mind and will of Christ and not see it

in the native endowments and temperament, in the body and birth of Christ.

In criticising this compromise I am criticising myself, for I have found myself returning again and again to some such view as this when I have attempted some exploration of these questions.

Turning back to the practice of prayer itself, it is plain that the praying of Christ and the praying of the greatest Christians has not labored under these limitations. If it has limited its objectives, it has done so on religious and not on scientific grounds. For it has been based on a very bold and naïve conception, the conception that the whole course of the world in all its scope and all its contemporaneity is wholly in the hands of God. This Living God has been thought of as dealing freely with every contemporary situation on the basis of a perfect intuition of its whole character. He might be expected to act normally in ways that would submit themselves to generalization and breed the expectation of repetitions and so offer man a dependable field for the exercise of his freedom, but He might always act creatively and unexpectedly. Back of the prayer of Jesus lay the conviction that the Living and Free Sovereign Will hears and accepts all prayers truly offered to Him, offered to Him out of a life set upon His rule; hears them and takes them into account in His sovereign dealing with the course of nature and of history and of personal life. In such prayer the issue is always left with God. Man pleads his cause with all humility before God and waits for the answer. What Jesus believed so intensely was not only that God is sovereign and free and personal in His dealings, but that what man truly wills greatly matters to Him, not only because of what will be its normal issue within the life of the man, but for its own sake. Such a view of the world lives uneasily alongside of the scientific view, with its eye for regularities and interconnections and generalizations. It means the enthroning of spiritual causation above all natural causation. It means that instead of viewing the birth or death of this child as ultimately the product of natural causes, although for religious purposes I may piously view it *as if* it were the act of God, I

must view this concrete and moving event as God's will in the light of His knowledge of the whole situation, though for scientific purposes I may view it *as if* it were the result of purely natural causes. We may gain some comfort from the tendencies in recent scientific philosophy to discard the idea of immutable laws, to recognize how abstract are scientific generalizations and how utterly unique all concrete occasions. Yet in spite of these we must acknowledge that the course of the world often looks like the working of a blind mechanism or the unhappy hunting ground of organisms struggling for existence. I find Christ's view of the world a hard test of my faith, but I find it difficult to see how prayer like that of Christ can survive on any other theory. And the spiritual authority of Christ constrains me to follow Him though the way is dark.

WAS THERE MONOTHEISM IN ISRAEL BEFORE AMOS?

By FLEMING JAMES, Berkeley Divinity School

It seems to be a commonplace among modern writers on Israel's religious development that theoretical monotheism first came into existence with Amos. I have found myself questioning the truth of this view for a long time, and have recently reviewed with some care the evidence for and against it. The present paper is an attempt to set forth for what they may be worth the results I have arrived at in my investigation.

Was there monotheism in Israel before Amos? It is necessary first to define monotheism. Does theoretical monotheism mean a refusal to believe in the existence of minor superhuman beings, making the heavens bare except for the one Deity? Plainly not. If such a strict sense of the word should be insisted on, neither the post-prophetic Jewish writers nor the early Christians could be called monotheists; for they peopled the unseen world with a multitude of subordinate spiritual powers. Monotheism seems rather to consist in regarding one God as the sole *Lord* of heaven and earth—the only power in control of nature and men. Henotheism or monolatry, on the other hand, recognises local limitations in the jurisdiction of the god worshipped. He has his domain and other gods have theirs. He looks out for his people and his divine competitors look out for theirs.

Now, as I have said, the usual view is that the leaders of Israel's thought remained on the henotheistic stage until Amos who first boldly conceived of Yahweh as the universal God. I use the word "leaders" advisedly, for our inquiry must concern itself with their faith rather than with that of the multitude. Let us examine the evidence for this view, beginning with the immediate predecessors of Amos and then pushing back step by step to Moses.

In the century before Amos two figures dominate the landscape of Israel's religious life—Elijah and Elisha. I shall assume that the sources which tell of them may be trusted to give us the broad outlines of their religious ideas. Through the mists of legend we can still make out what they thought about God and get echoes of their genuine utterances. Were they henotheists or monotheists?

The first Elijah legend tells how Yahweh performed two wonders in Sidonian territory, right under the nose of Melkart, so to speak. He kept the widow's oil and meal from failing and he restored her son to life (1 K. 17, 8 ff.). This looks like control of foreign territory. True, Elijah in addressing the widow refers to Yahweh as the "God of Israel" (1 K. 17, 14); but in the same breath he assures her that she will be provided for "until Yahweh sends rain upon the land" *i.e.* of Sidon. Where is Melkart?

The second Elijah legend tells the story of the great encounter on Mount Carmel between the solitary prophet of Yahweh and the four hundred prophets of Baal (1 K. 18). Here Elijah's challenge to the people runs: "If Yahweh be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him" (1 K. 18, 21). Of course, this *might* mean only, "If Yahweh is God in Israel"; it does seem to be thus limited in 18, 36. But it *sounds* monotheistic, as if there could not be two gods. And Elijah's mockery of the prophets of Baal seems to bear this out: "Cry aloud, for he is a god: either he is musing, or he is gone aside, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth and must be awaked" (1 K. 18, 27). Surely the man who could talk thus did not take the deity of Baal very seriously.

The sequel to this legend portrays Elijah at Horeb. Now, his very presence there indicates that he associated Yahweh especially with this mountain. But localising the deity in this way does not imply that the same God is not in control elsewhere; for the Psalmists later localised Yahweh in Jerusalem and yet remained monotheists. On the other hand, the very commission given Elijah at Horeb shows that Yahweh asserts his control over Aram,

for Elijah is bidden anoint Hazael to be king there (1 K. 19, 15).

The only recorded utterance of Elijah that might point towards henotheism is his message to Ahaziah: "Is it because there is no God in Israel that ye go to inquire of Baalzebub the god of Ekron?" (2 K. 1, 3). But I see no reason to imagine that Elijah looked on Baalzebub as more of a real divinity than Melkart.

What of Elisha? An early legend tells how he gave a word of Yahweh to the three kings in the wilderness of Edom, implying that Yahweh was in control there. The same story, however, speaks of wrath coming upon Israel after the king of Moab sacrificed his son (2 K. 3, 27). No deity is named as the source of the wrath, but the context indicates that Chemosh was here showing his strength on his own territory. The notice is certainly henotheistic and lends a henotheistic tone to the whole narrative. Yet we must note that this henotheism is not attributed to Elisha personally.

In the Naaman legend (2 K. 5) we get what seems to be a classic expression of henotheism when Naaman requests two mules' burden of Israelitish earth, apparently to validate his worship of Yahweh in Syria (2 K. 5, 17). He appears, at first sight, to have thought that Yahweh could not be worshipped on the soil of Aram, since it was not his own. Much has been made of Naaman's words by modern scholars in bringing proofs of pre-Prophetic henotheism. Two things, however, need to be said by way of caution. One, that they are the words of a non-Israelite and may not represent the view of the author or of his hero Elisha; the other, that Naaman himself in this very context utters an astoundingly monotheistic declaration: "Behold, now I know that there is no god in all the world but in Israel" (2 K. 5, 15). I cannot see why this latter utterance is so commonly overlooked.

Two other Elisha narratives represent Yahweh as active in Syria. In 2 K. 6, 12 the servants of the king of Syria say to him: "Elisha telleth the king of Israel the words that thou speakest in thy bedchamber. Again in 2 K. 8, 7 ff. Elisha, while

visiting Damascus, is asked by the sick Ben-hadad to inquire of Yahweh for him, and the prophet actually does give the royal messenger Hazael such an oracle. Neither of these two notices implies necessarily that Yahweh was in control of Syria, but they give him a standing there that is recognized by the Syrians themselves.

In the light of this evidence, how shall we answer the question we put? Were Elisha and Elijah monotheists? Undoubtedly there is *something* of monotheism here. "The mood of monotheism," says Hölscher,¹ "already dominates the Elijah and Elisha legends. Yahweh, the jealous God of the wilderness, permits in Israel no homage to other gods than himself." Meinhold² goes further: "In its implications the (Elijah) legend gives more than this (*i.e.* monolatry). Yahweh, the God of Israel, appears in it as the real, the living God, over against the 'nonentities,' the Baal of Phoenicia and others. One does not get this impression of their meaning—that Baal is impotent only on the soil of Canaan, while Yahweh is equally without power in the land of the Baal, Phoenicia. The scorn of Elijah over the god who is 'lost in thought' and does not hear, who is enjoying his afternoon nap, has gone out or is taking a stroll (1 K. 18, 27), goes back certainly to the thought that in contrast to Yahweh, who at will hurls the flashes of lightning, he possesses no life whatsoever. The god who stands over the unchained elements, sending them before him as his mere outriders, has not his like on earth or in heaven. . . . Yahweh too has jurisdiction not only over Israel but also *over other peoples*, whom he uses as his rod in punishing Israel. Their power therefore also proceeds from Yahweh, for Elijah is commissioned in the name of his God to anoint (that is, make) rebel and king not only Jehu in Israel but also Hazael in Aram."

But when we press the question, Were they monotheists? both scholars answer 'No,' Hölscher roundly, Meinhold with less assurance. "What still distinguishes this view of God from mon-

¹ *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, 1922, p. 97.

² *Einführung in das alte Testament*, 1919, p. 120.

otheism," writes the former,³ "is the lack of consistency in drawing the theoretic conclusions. The existence of other gods is not yet attacked and the conception of the world is not universal." This, I suppose, represents the usual view among scholars.

But how can we say that one who talked of Baal as Elijah did had not come to a "theoretical conclusion" regarding him? And indeed about the gods of the peoples generally? And did not even Naaman draw such a conclusion? How else would one express theoretical monotheism than by saying, "I know that there is no god in all the earth but in Israel"? As to Hölscher's other difficulty, that the conception of the world is not yet universal, where is the evidence? Elijah and Elisha happened to deal only with certain areas, but how can we assert that their thought did not also take in mankind as a whole? Naaman's thought seems to have done so. As far as they went, they seem to have regarded Yahweh as the only real God. Why imagine that they stopped with Aram and Horeb?

My conclusion therefore is that Elijah and Elisha were probably monotheists. At any rate, they have not yet been proved to be henotheists.

We come now to the Jahvist (J). With him the Elohist naturally fall to be considered, but I prefer to give the main attention to the Jahvist, partly because the J material seems to proceed from a single outstanding personality, partly because it is often difficult to distinguish between the two strands of narrative. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that I shall examine J with excerpts from E.

As the Jahvist looked back upon the beginnings of nature and history he saw only one divine power at work. Whatever was done, was done by Yahweh. He made earth and heaven (Gen. 2, 4); he brought into existence the father of the human race, the vegetation of the earth, the animals, and finally man's help-meet, woman (Gen. 2, 7 ff.). He began to be worshipped in mankind's third generation (Gen. 4, 26). In all the subse-

³ Ibidem, p. 97.

quent developments of the story, nature and man and animals had to do with him alone. Other divine beings indeed appear in the "sons of God" (Gen. 6, 1 ff.), in the heavenly council addressed in Gen. 11, 6 ff., in the two angels that accompany him on his visit to Abraham (Gen. 18-19). But these are plainly his servants; he alone remains the sovereign. When we pass to Exodus we find him dealing with Pharaoh and his servants, but not with the gods of Egypt.⁴ These do not come upon the scene at all. Yahweh has absolute control over the Nile valley and its population. He might, if he would, have cut off the Egyptians from the earth; and he gives the following reason for not doing so: "For this cause I have made thee to stand, to show thee my power, and that my name may be declared in all the earth" (Ex. 9, 16). He brings the plagues on Egypt, leads his people out, destroys the Egyptians in the Red Sea, guides Israel safely through the wilderness. At Sinai he proclaims (in words that Driver and Gressmann attribute to J, Cornill and Sellin tentatively to E): "All the earth is mine" (Ex. 19, 5). Finally he goes before his people into Canaan and subdues the inhabitants under them. In all this history of redemption he is the sole actor, so far as divine beings are concerned. No other gods rise up to contest his control over territory that from the point of view of henotheism might rightfully be considered their own. Moses in Egypt, like Elijah in Sidon, deals only with Yahweh; and so, he it observed, does every one else, from Pharaoh down.

Over against this consistently monotheistic representation may be set some passages that have the henotheistic ring: "Who is like unto thee, O Yahweh, among the gods?" (Ex. 15, 11)—from the song at the Red Sea, of disputed date; Jethro's words on hearing of the deliverance from Egypt: "Now I know that Yahweh is greater than all gods" (Ex. 18, 11)—which may be from E; several prohibitions in the E legislation against idolatry and worship of other gods, including the famous First Commandment: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" (Ex. 20, 3; cf. 20, 23; 22, 20; 23, 20, 24, 32; 34, 14 ff.). There is

⁴ It is only P that speaks of the gods of Egypt (Ex. 12, 12).

also the narrative of the golden bull (Ex. 32, 1 ff.) and of the brazen serpent (Num. 21, 8 ff.); but neither of these is used by scholars as a proof of the narrator's henotheism.

I shall touch on these passages again in discussing Moses' alleged henotheism. So far as the Jahvist is concerned, they seem hardly weighty enough to outbalance the immense monotheistic material just reviewed; nor is it certain that they come from J.

Yes, J was a monotheist. The only question that needs to be raised is whether he was a *theoretical* monotheist. Is it legitimate to assume that he had thought the matter through? Or must we suppose that he was quite unreflective about it? In that case we may still speak of him as a henotheist. But this is very unlikely. In other respects the Jahvist seems to have been a deep thinker, and I cannot but believe that he knew exactly what he was about here. The fact that he nowhere expressly denies the control of other gods is quite in accord with his habit of telling his story and letting it make its own impression. My own opinion indeed is that Second Isaiah got his own superb monotheism straight from the Jahvist.

Between the Jahvist and Moses there stretches a tract of time illumined by all too few great religious leaders. One would hardly admit Jeroboam I or even Solomon to that category. David on the other hand deserves the title, and so does Samuel. Saul was a Yahweh enthusiast, but no thinker. Among the "Judges" only Gideon and Deborah seem to have risen to any heights in religion; while Joshua is credited by tradition with having kept Israel true to the teaching of Moses during his own life-time.

As to Samuel, Deborah and Joshua little needs to be said in connection with our inquiry. I can find nothing in their words and actions that points definitely to henotheism, while their consistent adherence to Yahweh alone creates a presumption in favor of their montheism— if there were monotheists at all in those days. I shall, however, devote a word to David, Jephthah and Gideon.

There is no need to show that David was wholly loyal to Yahweh. In all his life-history he looked to Yahweh alone as the divine being in control of nature and men. Whatever we make of the teraphim kept in his house (1 S. 19), it did not interfere with this utter devotion to Yahweh. David, however, is invariably cited as a witness in favor of Israel's henotheism, because he is reported to have said to Saul: "They have driven me out this day that I should not cleave to the inheritance of Yahweh, saying, Go, serve other gods" (1 S. 26, 19). The fact is generally overlooked, however, that when David actually did leave Israelitish territory he continued to look to Yahweh alone. In the crisis that overtook him at Ziklag (in the domain of Achish) he "strengthened himself in Yahweh his God" and promptly consulted his oracle, as if Yahweh were still in control (1 S. 30, 6 ff.). This of course does not prove that he was really a monotheist, but it does warn us not to take his crudely henotheistic words too seriously. Possibly he was using popular language in order to make a telling case.

Among the Judges Jephthah stands out as the ideal henotheist. "Wilt thou not possess that which Chemosh thy god gives thee to possess?", he demanded of the king of Moab. "So, whosoever Yahweh our God hath dispossessed from before us, them will we possess" (Jud. 11, 24). Certainly nothing could run truer to form than this. But one asks, why are there so few Israelitish leaders who talk in this forthright fashion? If we could only find half a dozen other Jephthahs, the case for pre-Prophetic henotheism would be much stronger. And yet even the seven Jephthahs thus provided would hardly prove that the *religious leaders* of Israel thought in these terms. For I should hesitate to take Jephthah as a sample of the best Israel could give in any direction, unless it be for his faithfulness to his tragic vow. Over against him we must place Gideon, whose first act as deliverer was to throw down the altar of Baal that his father maintained and cut down the Asherah by it, substituting in its place an altar unto Yahweh his God (Jud. 6, 25, 26). This bold act, eloquent of his contempt for Baal, seems to have awaked

his father to a realisation of the god's impotence. "Will ye contend for Baal? or will ye save him?", he demanded, when his fellow-townsmen urged him to put Gideon to death, "If he be a god, let him contend for himself, because one hath broken down his altar" (Jud. 6, 31). These words are variously interpreted, and even if they go back to Gideon's time I would not press heavily upon them. But if they are of any historic value they point in a monotheistic direction, and ought not to be discredited just for this reason. After all, do we *know* that Joash could not have talked in this way? And Joash and Gideon stand together in the matter. We can say this much: the *tradition* concerning Gideon (whenever dated and however appraised) is monotheistic rather than henotheistic.

In estimating the belief of all these successors of Moses the question of their background necessarily arises. What did they inherit? And this of course brings us to the belief of Moses himself. If he was a henotheist, he must have left a legacy of henotheism behind him. If a monotheist, his greater successors may reasonably be supposed to have derived from him a monotheistic attitude.

Now, I know no recent scholar who attributes theoretical monotheism to Moses. Even those who go rather far towards doing so (e.g. Peters, Kittel, Gressmann, Sellin) hesitate to accept the idea that Moses consciously excluded other divine beings than Yahweh from the control of the universe. "Through Moses," wrote Gressmann,⁵ "Israel passed over from polytheism to monotheism, but the monotheism remained at first of a practical sort—remained monolatry—until the great Prophets thought it through theoretically and deepened it to a monotheism of principle." Kittel in the 5th-6th edition of his history put the case with less assurance: "Whether Moses believed in the existence of other gods besides Yahweh, we do not know. Post-Mosaic Israel did so in part." (Here he cites the words of Jephthah above discussed.) "For this very reason one may hardly assert that Moses associated with this (first) commandment absolute,

⁵ *Mose*, 1913, p. 447.

not relative monotheism, meaning the sole God in the strict sense, not the unique God." ⁶ It would of course be easy to cite opinions that are much more confident regarding Moses' henotheism. Kautzsch, for example, declares roundly: ⁷ "This proclamation (Yahweh the God of Israel) did not imply that Yahweh is to be regarded as the only God that has any real existence; such 'absolute monotheism' was undoubtedly as yet far below the horizon even of Moses."

Upon what evidence does this widely-spread view rest? I shall try to summarize the arguments I have collected from various writers:

1. Wellhausen ⁸ maintained that the very existence of the proper name "Yahweh" in the Moses tradition speaks at the outset in the most decisive way against Moses' monotheism, for a proper name elevates an individual from a genus. This argument does not seem to have made a wide appeal, for I do not find it repeated by later scholars. It may have some weight, but one would hardly call it "decisive." Logically Wellhausen may be right, but who can tell how the matter worked out historically?

2. Akin to it is Kuenen's contention ⁹ that the very union of Yahweh with Israel points to an original henotheism. "The relation in which Yahweh stands to Israel is the same as, for instance, that of Chemosh to the Moabites. Yahweh would never have become Israel's special property, as it were, and would never have come to dwell exclusively in Canaan, if he had been held from the beginning to be the only true God." Here again we seem to have an argument that has been allowed to die by later scholars; and I think justly. Apart from its obvious begging of the question it is hardly of that "decisive" character attributed to it by its author; for it is a deduction from *a priori* assumptions, both deduction and assumptions being questionable.

3. Budde ¹⁰ presented an argument of the same general nature

⁶ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I, p. 288.

⁷ *Hastings' Bib. Dict.*, 1904, *Extra Volume*, p. 625b—Art. "Religion of Israel."

⁸ *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*,⁸ 1921, p. 28.

⁹ *Religion of Israel* (Engl. Transl.), London, 1882, I, p. 224.

¹⁰ Karl Budde, *Auf dem Wege zum Monotheismus*, 1910, p. 4 (in substance).

when he wrote: "If Moses had given the people, so recently come into existence, the teaching of an ideal monotheism, he would have given them a stone instead of bread. It would have sunk with him into the grave, instead of entering into their flesh and blood." My only comment is: Possibly, but how do we know? Once more we are moving in the realm of a *priori* speculation, not of serious proof.

4. The constant tendency of the people to Baal worship in the time of the Judges is considered by Kautzsch¹¹ a proof of the henotheism of that period, and *a fortiori* of the Mosaic age. I am at a loss to see the force of this consideration. We are concerned, not with what the common run of Israelites believed, but with the faith of the leaders. The same reasoning might be used to show that the Writing Prophets were henotheists!

5. Jephthah, David and Naaman are cited as evidence of henotheism among the *leaders*.¹² I have already given my reasons for not leaning overmuch on this argument.

6. The first commandment (Ex. 20, 3) is regarded as henotheistic. "No other gods before me" is taken to imply a belief in the existence of other gods.¹³ This argument can of course be used only by those who hold the Mosaic authorship of the shorter form of the Decalogue. It can hardly be viewed as conclusive because, like similar expressions in the Writing Prophets, it *might* be only a popular way of speaking. The same may be said of the mention of "other gods," etc., in the Book of the Covenant and Moses' song at the Red Sea, if these be taken to embody genuine Mosaic tradition.

7. König also cites Jethro's words in Ex. 18, 11: "Now I know that Yahweh is greater than all gods." But here caution is necessary, since it is not Moses, nor even an Israelite, who is speaking.

Over against these arguments must be set the impressive fact already brought out, that J and E represent Moses as ignoring

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 635a.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ König, *Geschichte der altlichen. Religion*, 1924, p. 241; and others.

completely the gods of the Egyptians and of the other peoples with whom he comes into contact. They have him deal with Yahweh alone as the only power in control of nature and men. They put into Yahweh's mouth the proclamation, "All the earth is mine" (Ex. 19, 5). They picture Moses as teaching the most rigorous and exclusive devotion to Yahweh and imparting what several scholars call "practical monotheism."

But I have not yet done with the statement of the case. For back of all the evidence cited against Moses' monotheism by those who reject it lies an intangible but very real something which for them gives this evidence peculiar cogency. I may call it the sense of *probability*. We are so steeped in the conviction that Israel's religion developed from a less enlightened to a more enlightened form, and we have grown so accustomed to regard the idea of monotheism as belonging to a later stage of thought, that we do not *expect* to discover it in Moses. Moses, we feel, could not have "thought through" to it (to use Gressmann's expression). It lay "below his horizon." He was too primitive, too antique for it.

Well, probably he was. But there is just a chance that he was not so primitive in this respect as we picture him. Kittel in a candid note¹⁴ discusses the possibility that Moses may have done just that "thinking through" which Gressmann and most scholars postpone until the Prophets. How much justification there is for Kittel's feeling that montheistic ideas may have been operative in Moses' environment and in the traditions he received from the past, I cannot say. But we must admit the *possibility* that a supremely original genius, such as *perhaps* Moses was,¹⁵ may have come even to theoretical monotheism and left it as a legacy to his successors. In any case, I am of the opinion that the

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 450.

¹⁵ Cf. Volz, 'Der Gott Mose,' in *O. T. Essays*, London, 1927, p. 29. "We are before all else penetrated by the certainty that a religious stream gushes forth in its greatest strength and purity at its source, and that at the beginning of a mighty movement which has been proved in history there must stand a powerful genius. So for us today Moses is the mighty creator of a religion of power—the hero whose possession by religion (*religiöse Ergriffenheit*) and high-reaching comprehension we can only sense but cannot fully grasp."

actual evidence regarding him points more towards his having been a monotheist than a henotheist.

Was there monotheism before Amos? Yes, I regard the Jahvist as a monotheist, and probably the Elohist also. I incline to believe that both Elijah and Elisha had a monotheistic outlook. I have a suspicion that they may have inherited their monotheism from Moses. If so, then Joshua, Gideon, Samuel, David and many other Israelites in the intervening centuries may have been monotheists as well. Who knows? It will (to my mind) take more than the "other gods" of the First Commandment, or Jephthah's message to the king of Moab, or David's complaint to Saul, or Naaman's two mules' burden of earth, to prove the contrary.

IS MARK A COMPLETE GOSPEL?

By MARTIN RIST, The University of Chicago

When the textual critics demonstrated that the various endings appended to Mark were spurious, and that the true conclusion, according to the textual evidence alone, was *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, "for they were afraid," the ancient practice of providing a suitable termination for this allegedly truncated gospel was revived. The modern conjectures concerning the lost end of Mark are interesting and ingenious. Rohrbach cautiously states that *Fingerzeige* are to be found in Lk. 24: 34 and I Cor. 15: 5.¹ Goodspeed boldly offers a reconstruction in Greek, based upon the Matthean account.² Bacon recently denies that there are any traces to be found in either Matthew or Luke, but suggests the ending of the Gospel of Peter.³ In an earlier work he found survivals in Lk. 5: 4-8 and in John 21.⁴ Streeter feels quite sure that Mark either did not live to finish his gospel, or else the end was already lost when it was used by Matthew and Luke.⁵ In spite of this definite statement, he somewhat inconsistently proceeds to make a "scientific guess," using John 20, 21 and the Long Conclusion, sources that are later than Matthew and Luke.

In view of this interest manifested by leading New Testament scholars in the rehabilitation of the gospel, it may be an act of temerity to propose that the Mark of Eusebius, of \aleph and B, of Westcott and Hort (the Mark of their text, not of their punctuation) is a complete gospel. Nevertheless a fresh survey of the available evidence seems to uphold this contention.

A canvass of recent literature on the subject reveals three lead-

¹ Rohrbach, *Der Schluss des Markusevangeliums, der Vier-Evangelien-Kanon und die Kleinasiatischen Presbyter*, p. 49.

² Goodspeed, *New Solutions of New Testament Problems*, p. 116 ff.

³ Bacon, *Studies in Matthew*, pp. 250-251.

⁴ Bacon, *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, p. 227.

⁵ Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, pp. 333-360.

ing objections to the supposition that Mark, as we possess it, is a complete gospel:

1. Mark could not have intended to leave his gospel hanging in the air, as it were, by concluding with the awkward construction *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, "for they were afraid."
2. Mark could not have intended the omission of the resurrection narratives from his gospel.
3. Mark could not have intended to conclude his gospel on a note of fear.

The first argument is a linguistic one, and can best be answered by searching Greek literature for similar conclusions. In considering the other two objections it is necessary to remind ourselves that they, like other historical problems, are best studied in the light of the social-historical method. We may ask, why did Mark write a gospel? What was his purpose? What were the social forces which produced this document which we call the Gospel according to Mark? As the writer considered his public, the Christian community of Rome *circa* 70 A.D., what needs did he strive to meet, what problems did he seek to solve? This methodology, which regards Mark as a social product, of necessity demands the abandonment of any attempt to force Mark to conform to preconceived notions of how a gospel should be written and what it should contain. Only by examining the social background of the gospel can we obtain an answer to the question, "Is Mark a complete gospel?"

The linguistic argument need not detain us, for Enslin,⁶ Cadbury,⁷ and Ottley⁸ in independent studies have culled many examples of final *γάρ* and similar constructions from classical Greek, from Hellenistic writers, from the LXX, from the Greek fathers, and from the papyri. Constructions similar to and in some instances substantially identical with Mark's usage are found ending sentences, paragraphs, and chapters. These parallels, together

⁶ Enslin, "*ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, Mark 16: 8"; *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 46: 62-68 (1927).

⁷ Cadbury, "Mark 16: 8," *ibid.*, pp. 344-345.

⁸ Ottley, "*ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, Mark 16: 8," *Journal of Theological Studies*, 27: 407 (July, 1926).

with the fact that Mark was not a stylist, but was a rough and ready writer of Greek, have fairly well destroyed the contention that Mark's conclusion is impossible Greek.

Streeter presents a more plausible theory when he argues that "the author of the Gospel cannot have originally meant to end it without the account of the appearance to the Apostles in Galilee which is twice prophesied in the text (Mk. xiv. 28; xvi. 7)." ⁹ This judgment, however, may possibly be influenced by the widespread and regrettable tendency to harmonize the gospels. Quite conceivably it is this harmonistic bias which causes many to decide *a priori* that a gospel which lacks the resurrection narratives is incomplete. It is by no means improbable that the introductory words, "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ," have constituted the sole check to speculation concerning a lost beginning of Mark, with all the attendant conjectural reconstructions of a Marcan nativity story, for in spite of this prefatory remark the gospel opens with dramatic abruptness. Without it the way would be open for harmonistic speculation. This illustrates the necessity for discarding our own conceptions concerning what the gospel should contain. The problem should be studied on the basis of the probable situation confronting Mark as he depicted the life and death of Jesus for the Christian community at Rome.

It is important to remember that Mark was a pioneer, a trail blazer, for he was among the first, if not the very first, to compose a written account of the heroic deeds of the earthly Jesus. The first gospel to be preached was the fact of Jesus' death and resurrection. Belief in this gospel was all that was essential for salvation. This is the substance of Paul's gospel. Paul, however, found that it was necessary to elaborate upon this simple theme by citing the proofs of the resurrection, the appearance to Cephas, then to twelve then to five hundred brethren all at once, next to James, then to all the apostles, and finally to Paul himself. Not only was this Paul's gospel, but he claims that it is the gospel preached by others. The prominence which he gives to Peter, in spite of the experience which he relates with some bitterness in

⁹ Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, p. 337.

Galatians, testifies to the truth of his statement that this was the gospel which he himself had received. If we may generalize from the evidence of the Pauline letters, this early gospel contained little if any delineation of the life of Jesus. This neglect was due to the almost exclusive attention given to the resurrection and its attestation.

This simple "good news" gained phenomenal acceptance, and for a time was sufficient to meet the needs of the Christian communities. But as the first flush of zeal and enthusiasm subsided and the promised parousia of the Lord was delayed, this gospel by itself proved to be inadequate for the developing Christian groups as they began to become integrated with their Gentile environment. A vital need for a narration of the life of Jesus had arisen. Chief among the competitors of the new religion as it made its way in the Hellenistic world were the mystery cults, which treasured the stories of the mundane experiences of their redeemer gods. These tales were of tremendous importance for the cultus, for they were the basis of much of the mystical teaching and dramatic ritual which featured these religions. Furthermore, the cult of the hero was very popular. Hercules, who attained glory and immortality through his labors and sufferings, was the center of many dramatic accounts. Moreover, even though Seneca could satirize the deification of the dead Claudius as his "pumpkinification," emperor worship was beginning to assume great importance, and writers were beginning to cast deeds of emperors in heroic proportions.

This was the religious and social situation which confronted Mark. The Roman church could not wholly escape the *Zeitgeist* of its environment. Many of its members had doubtless been recruited from these pagan cults, and certain features of their former religion still had their attraction for these converts. Emperor worship had, of course, become a patriotic duty. In order to combat these influences the Christians needed a literature of control consisting of an effective narration of the mighty deeds of Jesus, his power over demons, his control of nature, and, above

all, the events which led up to his suffering and death.¹⁰ This was provided for in part by a variety of oral tradition.

Mark, who possibly foreshadowed the desire for uniformity which later became so characteristic of the Roman church, utilized these accounts in his heroic narration of Jesus, the lord and savior of the Christians. In his presentation Mark was only secondarily concerned with the resurrection appearances, for these were a matter of general belief which he could take for granted. Paul's letters reveal that he was sensitive regarding beliefs and practices which differed from his. His epistle to the Romans, written a few years before the gospel of Mark, shows that he was well-informed concerning the situation at Rome. Since he did not hesitate to press his views where there was some divergence between him and the Roman group, his silence concerning the resurrection appearances suggests that here he and Rome were in substantial agreement. In fact, Mark 14: 28 and 16: 7 allude to appearances to Peter and the rest in Galilee which reflect the belief of both Paul and the Romans in all probability. A later writer to the Roman church, the author of Hebrews, who like Paul and Mark was making a special effort to have his presentation of Christian belief accepted by the Romans, specifically states that there is no need for him to discuss first principles of Christian truth, including baptism and the resurrection of the dead.¹¹

Consequently we may take Mark's references to the resurrection appearances as allusions to a commonly accepted belief, tacitly acknowledged by him, while he stressed the heroic life of his savior. The presence of these allusions by no means requires a recital of the appearances in the conclusion of the gospel, as Streeter suggests.

Mark was not merely a pragmatic writer who omitted the resurrection scenes simply because he could take them for granted; he was, in addition, an artist, a dramatist, who consciously excluded the resurrection account lest it detract from his main interest, the

¹⁰ Cf. D. W. Riddle, "The Martyr-motif in Mark," *Journal of Religion*, IV (1924), p. 403; *The Martyrs, A Study in Social Control*, pp. 180-197.

¹¹ Hebrews, 6: 1-3. I am indebted to Prof. E. C. Colwell for this reference.

portrayal of Jesus' heroic life and death. Several writers have noted that his gospel is dramatic in structure, following in general the canons of the Greek tragedy.¹² This presentation of religious matter in dramatic form was not original with Mark, for the Greek drama was the daughter of Greek religion, specifically of the mysteries. Nor was a drama of necessity designed for the stage. Chaeremon as early as the fourth century wrote plays for reading, not for acting; and many of the ancient writers used this vehicle of expression in relating the deeds of heroes and kings.

In Mark, a unified theme, the heroic deeds of Jesus Christ the Son of God, is chosen for the subject of the drama. A short prologue, the Old Testament quotations which introduce the dramatic appearance of John, is followed by the exciting force, the Baptism of Jesus, who is revealed as the Son of God. He is to be God's champion in the cosmic struggle between the forces of good and the demonic powers. In the tragedies the hero is impelled by blind fate; in the gospel Jesus is led by the spirit of God. The action rises rapidly, carrying us along in its sweep to the double climax, Peter's Confession and the Transfiguration. Coincident with this climax is the first of the three-fold forebodings of death and soon the dramatic action falls rapidly toward the final catastrophe. The counterplot, led by the High Priests and culminating in Judas' Betrayal, gains momentum. There is, however, a momentary suspense, the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem. Perhaps the Jews will accept Jesus; but, alas, their hearts are hardened, and the action falls more rapidly than ever to the denouement, the Crucifixion. The centurion who witnessed his death exclaimed, "Truly this man was the Son of God," echoing the main theme of the tragedy. In addition to the cosmic conflict there is an inner struggle. This is represented in the temptation scene; in Jesus' refusal later to be tempted by Peter; and, most poignantly, in the agony of Gethsemane. Perhaps the Little Apocalypse is to be considered as a denunciatory rhesis.

The drama quite properly ends with the death of the hero. Up

¹² E. W. Burch, "The Tragic Action in the Second Gospel; A Study in the Narrative of Mark," *Journal of Religion*, XI (1931): 3: 346-358.

to this point the unity of plot has been maintained and attention has been focussed upon its development. It was customary, however, for the tragedies to have an epilogue, and Mark uses this dramatic device to narrate the story of the burial and of the empty tomb, whereby he gently and beautifully alludes to the physical resurrection of Jesus without including scenes which might readily overpower his main plot and destroy the interest which he has hoped to arouse in the earthly career of Jesus, his hero and redeemer.

It might be urged that this dramatic scheme is too subtle and complicated to have been utilized by a primitive gospel writer. However, when we consider that Mark lived and wrote in Rome when the drama was the common enjoyment of the proletariat, and when the mystery cults which used dramatic forms in their rituals were extremely popular, we must conclude that Mark was not unaware of some of the canons of the drama and their employment by rival religions. Doubtless his Roman public keenly appreciated his efforts, even though we can see that he was far from being a finished artist in his attempt to fit his material to his structural outline. In spite of his defects as a writer he does succeed in carrying through the broad outlines of his plot, and concludes with a dramatic finesse that can scarcely be excelled.

The third objection to the completeness of Mark as it now stands is the argument that the author surely did not intend to conclude his good news about Jesus on a note of fear and dismay. This misconception is as old as the Gospel of Matthew whose writer missing entirely the stark simplicity of the theme of the older gospel, that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God, emends Mark by relating that the women hurried from the empty tomb with fear and *great joy*.

In Matthew's correction of Mark we have, as it happens, a clue to the correct interpretation of Mark's conclusion; for this holy, ecstatic fear which moved the women was a joyous fear, which is a vital part of Mark's chain of proof for the glorious good news that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God. Mark's hero, with minor deviation from character, is a holy, divine, ma-

jestic personage who by his mysterious and powerful words, by his supernatural deeds, and by his glorious presence continually produces emotions of wonder, amazement, ecstasy, worship, and holy fear. So awful are the manifestations of his divine nature that a warning of silence and secrecy frequently accompanies them.

A detailed study of these phenomena as related by Mark is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it is quite relevant to point out the significance which Mark usually attaches to the verb "to fear" (*φοβέω*) and its derivatives. His special use is clearly shown when he states that Herod feared John the Baptist, who was his helpless prisoner, because John was a righteous and holy man (6: 20). Mark wants us to understand that Herod was not afraid of any physical earthly danger, but, on the contrary, was in awe of the holy, the supernatural. Mark's distinction between fear and awe is seen again in the account of the stilling of the waves. Jesus found the disciples cowardly (*δειλοί*), afraid of drowning, as the waves began to swamp their little boat. This physical danger passed, and Mark relates, by way of contrast, that they were greatly afraid, that is to say, filled with great awe (*ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν*) as they saw the wind and the sea obey Jesus (4: 40-41).

Other manifestations of divine power produced a similar effect. Those who saw the Gerasene demoniac, who had been freed from the demons by Jesus, sitting clothed and in his right mind were in awe because of the miracle which had been performed (5: 15).

The woman who had been cured of a disease of long standing by simply touching Jesus' garment, knowing that something mysterious had happened to her, came forward with awe and trembling at Jesus' feet (5: 33).

One evening the disciples were straining at their oars, rowing against the wind, when they saw Jesus walking on the sea. They thought he was a spirit, and cried out in their terror. Jesus told them not to be in awe of him (*μὴ φοβεῖσθε*), but in spite of his reassuring words, they were quite beside themselves when the wind died down after he entered the boat (6: 49-52).

Peter, James, and John had the honor of seeing Jesus transfigured. When they saw him in his glory they were in great awe, and even the indomitable Peter scarcely knew what to say (9: 6).

Jesus' redeeming death was, to Mark, a mysterious and dreadful manifestation of the divine. Consequently we are told that when Jesus was talking to his disciples concerning his approaching death, although they did not understand him, yet they dreaded (*ἐφοβοῦντο*) to question him (9: 32). When, a little later, Jesus was on his way to Jerusalem and to his death, his disciples were in dismay, and those who followed were in awe (*ἐφοβοῦντο*), for although they were probably not aware of it, they were soon to witness the supreme revelation of divine mystery (10: 32). In the same proleptic fashion Jairus was filled with awe even before he witnessed the miracle which restored his dead daughter to life (5: 36).

This same element of the mysterious and the divine pervades the story of the empty tomb. The women fled out of the tomb, trembling and ecstatic (a technical expression for an emotional experience that accompanied introduction into the Greek mystery cults), and they told no one what had occurred, for this divine manifestation filled them with awe (16: 8), an emotion that is thoroughly consistent with Mark's theme that Jesus is the Son of God, and therefore awe inspiring.

Is Mark, therefore, a complete gospel? Weighty textual evidence certainly points to an affirmative answer. Linguistic studies, already referred to, show that his conclusion is defensible on the basis of Greek usage. Furthermore, an attempt to study Mark's purpose in producing his gospel made against his social background indicates that for pragmatic and dramatic reasons he purposely excludes the story of the resurrection experience from his gospel. Finally, Mark's conclusion on a note of mystery and awe is quite in keeping with the good news that Jesus is the Son of God. In view of these positive findings we may say with some degree of confidence that the Mark of \aleph B and the critical texts is a complete gospel.

THE STUDY OF THE SEPTUAGINT

By A. HAIRE FORSTER, Western Theological Seminary

"The one thing certain about the Septuagint at present is, that it is—not the Septuagint," said an 'eminent authority' to R. R. Ottley.¹ The reason for this dark saying is that some books belong to later versions. Daniel in the Greek manuscripts is mainly Theodotion's version, Ecclesiastes is either some form of Aquila's version or is a remarkable anticipation of Aquila's method. Textual variations are in some places so great that editors at times have to print two texts in full. What is and what is not the Septuagint both as to books as a whole and readings in detail is therefore one Septuagint study still far from complete.

The psychology of the translators is also well worth study, they were interpreters as well as translators and their interpretations reveal the Theology of their day. A tendency to identify the Messiah with Wisdom for example may be discerned here and there, compare the Greek of Psalm 109: 3 (LXX) with the Hebrew. This in turn might throw light on St. Paul's doctrine of the preëxistent Christ. If the Messiah = Wisdom, then He was not only preëxistent but also shared in creation.

Much might still be done in tracing the methods of the translators: it has been shown with considerable probability that the translators of Jeremiah and Ezekiel at any rate, worked in pairs, one translating and the other writing and that at about half time, they exchanged rôles and so we have a different style in the second half of each book.

Some branches of the study can become more interesting than a cross word puzzle: consider for example how by the use of the Septuagint, Thackeray finds a song title 'For the Sabbath, for

¹ *A Handbook to the Septuagint*, p. 30.

soprano voices' underlying a Hebrew phrase which is translated 'a place for thee to dwell in forever.'²

The Anglican Church has a splendid record of achievement in this work: Holmes and Parsons, Field, Redpath and Hatch, Swete, Ottley, Thackery, Brooke and McClean are names familiar to anyone who knows anything about Biblical Studies and they were or are all Anglicans. A knowledge of the Septuagint has become a part of Anglican Tradition and even such an old book as Vaughan on Romans published first in 1859 is still of value because the author based his exegesis on the fact that St. Paul got his religious vocabulary from the Septuagint. Vaughan illustrates the statement of Deissmann:

"A single hour lovingly devoted to the text of the Septuagint will further our exegetical knowledge of the Pauline Epistles more than a whole day spent over a commentary."³

Papyrus discoveries may possibly have diverted the attention of some Biblical students from the Septuagint but not Deissmann: "Take the Septuagint in your hand" he says "and you have before you the book that was the Bible of the Jews of the Dispersion and of the proselytes from the heathen; the Bible of Philo the philosopher, Paul the Apostle, the earliest Christian missions; the Bible of the whole Greek-speaking Christian world; the mother of influential daughter versions; the mother of the Greek New Testament."⁴

An illustration of 'Light from the Septuagint' might be taken from Luke 2: 49. Here the Revised translation 'in my Father's House' and not 'about my Father's business' has been supported by a papyrus where a similar phrase occurs,⁵ but the phrase is in the Septuagint Esther, 7: 9; there 'en tois Aman' can only mean 'on Aman's premises.' The Septuagint is a key to New Testament interpretation which has been allowed to become rusty. Certainly no one can understand Luke-Acts who is not familiar

² *Some Aspects of the Greek Old Testament*, pp. 47 ff.

³ *The Philology of the Greek Bible*, p. 12.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 8.

⁵ *Oxy. Pap.*, III, p. 260.

with the phraseology and *usus loquendi* of the Septuagint. As regards St. Paul we know that he knew the Septuagint in much the same way as intelligent Church people knew the Bible a hundred years ago, we do not know how much he knew of Mystery religions and the formulae of Hellenistic piety, these should be used only when the Septuagint has been exhausted as a source and suggestion for his thought.

Hitherto *The Old Testament in Greek* published at Cambridge University and commonly known as Swete's Septuagint has been the indispensable text book for students. This edition is called by Ottley 'perhaps the best edited text of any ancient work in existence.' Swete's plan was similar to that of the Sixtine edition: to print the text of the Vatican Mss. and give variants at the foot of the page. The larger edition of Brooke and McClean known as the Cambridge Septuagint is on the same plan.

In Rahlfs' edition of the Psalms,⁶ we have an attempt to provide a critical text based on an examination of all available sources. His principles are as follows: (1) When the three ancient texts *Lower Egyptian*, i.e. B.S. (Sinaitic) Boh.; *Upper Egyptian*, i.e. Sah. and papyrus fragments; and thirdly *Western*, i.e. O.L., Aug. Tert. Cypr. agree, to adopt that reading except where a reference to the Hebrew reveals an obvious error in all three as, e.g., in Ps. 38: 6 where all three read *palaia*s instead of *palaista*s. (2) Where these three differ to follow the one that agrees with the Hebrew. (3) Where these three differ from the Hebrew while later texts agree with the Hebrew to follow the older on the assumption that the later have been corrected to conform to the Hebrew. (4) In doubtful cases to follow B.S. if it has any other support. Rahlfs' Introduction is a thorough discussion of the textual material, naturally with many references to his previous essay on the text of the Septuagint Psalter.⁷

⁶ *Septuaginta Societatis Scientiarum Gottingensis auctoritate, edidit A. Rahlfs. X Psalmi cum Odis.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1931. 1. Hälfte, pp. 176; 2. Hälfte, pp. 177-365. M. 32.20.

⁷ *Septuaginta-Studien*, 2. Heft, 1907.

Genesis in this Göttingen Edition appeared in 1926, the reason for the leap forward to the Psalms is because Brooke and McClean are bringing out the earlier books and so the Germans are producing the second half first. If the succeeding volumes preserve the standard of this volume on the Psalms, then students of the Septuagint will have the primary requirement for their work, a text securely based on sound principles.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

By BURTON SCOTT EASTON, General Theological Seminary

The necrology for the past few months has been lamentably long and it includes two superlatively famous names.

Charles Gore was born in 1853, and was educated at Harrow and at Baliol College, Oxford. Graduating in 1875, he was made Fellow of Trinity College, and in the next year was ordained. He remained in residence and acted as lecturer for the next four years, acquiring a brilliant reputation as a young theological scholar who was heart and soul allied with the Tractarians; Liddon, in particular, became deeply interested in him. In 1880 he was made Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon, and four years later became the first Librarian of the newly-founded Pusey Library; an ambiguously-named post that was really a lectureship in theology. This decade marked the beginnings of Old Testament criticism in Oxford under the leadership of Cheyne and Driver, and Gore came decisively under the latter's influence. In 1888 the volume of essays later (1890) published as *Lux Mundi* was planned, and Gore was asked to contribute on the subject of Inspiration; the essay was duly prepared under the title "The Holy Spirit and Inspiration." Before it, however, Gore published the first editions of two eminently Tractarian works, *The Church and the Ministry* and *Roman Catholic Claims*, both in 1889: these for the moment confirmed his reputation as a pillar of orthodoxy. But in the latter part of 1889 Gore sent Liddon a manuscript copy of his *Lux Mundi* essay, to Liddon's utmost distress; on October 31st he noted in his diary, "*Miserable* about Gore's essay. It takes the heart out of all one's hopes for Pusey House." The correspondence that ensued was extremely painful, and all the more so because it was never acrimonious. Gore could not see his way clear to change what he had written nor even to defer its publication; while Liddon was so broken-hearted that he offered

to return out of his own pocket a subscription made to Pusey House, on the ground that he had endorsed Gore in ignorance of the latter's true views. And Liddon's last sermon was an arraignment of Gore's position.

Liddon's death spared him from what would have been a worse shock, Gore's Bampton Lectures of 1891—entitled *The Incarnation of the Son of God*—in which he supported an explicit "kenotic" attitude. Gore promptly became a storm-center and was passionately attacked by the upholders of the traditional Tractarian theology and by many others. The celebrated Father Ignatius denounced him in public as an "atheist," while his visit to the United States in 1896 was made miserable by a newspaper controversy, fanned particularly by Henry Percival and A. G. Mortimer, who proclaimed him virtually a self-excommunicated heretic. Sober opinion in the Church of England, however, was not moved by such excesses, and he himself did not permit them to move him in the slightest degree. In 1893 he became Superior of the Community of the Resurrection, and the next year was appointed Canon of Westminster Abbey: as "Canon Gore" he was then constantly known until his elevation to the episcopate. His literary activity at this period was highly prolific, his books being largely expository or devotional, such as *The Sermon on the Mount* (1897), *Ephesians* (1898) and *Romans* (1900). They lack, doubtless, the touch of the professional exegete—Gore was never really at home in the New Testament, although he was quite unconscious of the fact—but for practical utility they still have no equals. But his *The Body of Christ* (1901) was a serious and important study of eucharistic doctrine.

In 1902 he was consecrated bishop of the Diocese of Worcester, and immediately bent his efforts toward securing its division. The result was the new Diocese of Birmingham, to whose endowment he devoted no small part of his own private means. As soon as the division was completed, he elected to take the new diocese with its enormous pastoral responsibilities, and so became Bishop of Birmingham in 1905. His record was a splendid realization of his zeal to give Christianity a concrete social em-

phasis, and he became celebrated as one of the leaders in the field of Christian sociology. In 1911 he was transferred to Oxford. In the tradition of the academic dignity of the Oxford episcopate he should have been supremely happy, but he took very seriously the fact that he was also diocesan of a vast rural population, whose social conditions were far from ideal: the result was extreme discomfort. The war prevented any change, but at its termination he resigned his see and retired into private life (1919), announcing his desire to serve the church through literary effort.

During his episcopate his writings were fairly numerous, but were inevitably somewhat slight, since his diocesan duties made overwhelming demands on his time. But he endeavored to begin again where he had left off seventeen years earlier, and an exposition of the Johannine Epistles (1920) continued his earlier works in the same field. In the meantime, however, the advance in historical knowledge had gone beyond him, and he never succeeded in catching up again. As a result he who thirty years before had been denounced as a radical was now in many quarters regarded as over-conservative: specialists, in particular, could not take seriously his citation of works written thirty years earlier as final authorities. His elaborate three-volume *Reconstruction of Relief* (1921-1924), which he published as his apologia, suffers seriously from this defect, since passages of magnificent spiritual insight and mellow wisdom occur side-by-side with elaborate arguments based on impossible historical premises. A similar lack of unity pervades his celebrated *New Commentary on Holy Scripture* (1928); we may say "his" because he read and criticized all the contributions in minute detail and insisted that theological conclusions should never deviate too far from his own position. The result is a most uneven work, on the whole generally scientific in the Old Testament portions but hesitant or reactionary in any New Testament questions that he regarded as vital. The appearance of the commentary, however, showed that extreme Biblical conservatism in the Church of England was by no means dead, and the periodicals

were swamped with polemical correspondence; editorial policy, however, was almost universally in support of the work. But to English-speaking Roman Catholics the commentary appeared heretical in the extreme. One reviewer spoke of Bishop Gore as "the evil genius of the Anglo-Catholic movement," while the general attitude of the Roman Catholic press was to treat the commentary as evidence that nothing really Catholic now remained in Anglo-Catholicism.

Bishop Gore's last contribution to Biblical study was his *Jesus of Nazareth*, in which—for the first time—he endeavored to do justice to the apocalyptic problem. But his interests had been turning more and more to the ethical field. In 1921 he had written his *Christian Moral Principles*, and in 1928 his *Christ and Society*. Despite his great age it was still granted to him to coördinate and systematize his results in his Gifford Lectures, *The Philosophy of the Good Life* (1930).

In latter years he declared that in all major matters his theological position never altered throughout his life. That there was much truth in this declaration no one will deny; the author of the *Lux Mundi* essay in 1890 would have been in no way disturbed by anything in the *New Commentary* of 1928. But changes there were, of which he was not fully conscious. And the theological world around him was changing; he probably never understood to how great a degree his own example and influence produced changes with which he was not in sympathy.

Benjamin Wisner Bacon was born in 1860, a descendant of a long line of noted Congregational clergymen, all associated with Yale University. He himself as a boy was educated in Germany and Switzerland preparatory to his entering Yale, from which he graduated in 1881. He then entered the Yale Divinity School and was ordained to the Congregational pastorate three years later. After serving at Old Lyme, Connecticut, and Oswego, New York, he returned to Yale as a New Testament teacher in 1896 and remained there until his death; his only intermission was in 1905-1906 when he directed the American School of

Archaeology at Jerusalem. His earliest critical interests were in the Old Testament and his first book (1891) was *The Genesis of Genesis*. But his appointment at Yale confirmed him for life in the New Testament field, with a primary but by no means exclusive interest in the Synoptic Gospels. Immediately after his work at Yale was inaugurated he began the almost incredible flood of periodical articles that continued until the end of his life; in 1898 alone there were eight of these. His first volume on the New Testament was, appropriately enough, a general *Introduction* published in 1900. It is still in print, with a constant sale; in fact its sale in its original form has been so uninterrupted that the publishers constantly refused Dr. Bacon permission to revise it. His first formal contribution to the Synoptists came in 1909 as *The Beginnings of Gospel Story*; a commentary on Mark apparently intended for popular use. This appearance, however, was wholly illusory; few more difficult commentaries have ever been written, and only the most determined effort will do it justice. Its Synoptic thesis is one Dr. Bacon defended tenaciously throughout his career: the document common to Matthew and Luke is earlier than Mark and was constantly used by Mark; in fact this document determined the order of Mark's sections, which are largely built up around its wording. At that date the term "form-criticism" had not yet found its way into the New Testament vocabulary, but Dr. Bacon's work was in large measure an anticipation of what the form critics were to produce ten years afterward.

The same year saw his little *Galatians*—crammed full of suggestive material—and a collection of periodical articles on John under the title *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*. Two years later came his *Jesus the Son of God*, a study in Gospel Christology, more particularly of the Christology of the oldest source. The war compelled an intermission of publication, but at its close he had ready *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?* (1919) and the next year his Oxford lectures, *Jesus and Paul*, a treatise with a definitely apologetic aim. *The Gospel of Mark* (1925) is on a large scale and is the most important discussion of the Second

Gospel that exists today. *The Apostolic Message* (1925) and *The Story of Jesus* (1927) form really a single two-volume work, which elaborates more fully the theme of *Jesus and Paul*: Christianity is saved from being a mere Reformed Judaism by the specifically "evangelic" element, and its oldest message is that of baptism and the Eucharist. In 1928 Dr. Bacon retired from active teaching work at Yale—the occasion was marked by a volume of *Studies in Early Christianity* dedicated to him and to his colleague Dr. Porter—but he retained his residence in New Haven. His health was now seriously impaired by a weak heart that demanded rigid abstinence from all active exertion; fortunately, however, it interfered comparatively little with his writing. He laid out for himself a most ambitious program, which was to begin with his superb *Studies in Matthew* (1930), a book that should guide all serious Gospel students for the next generation. But this effort was the last.

BOOK REVIEWS

History of Palestine and Syria. To the Macedonian Conquest. By A. T. Olmstead. New York: Scribner, 1931, pp. xxxiii + 664. \$7.50.

Professor Olmstead has followed up his brilliant *History of Assyria* (1923) with an equally attractive and painstakingly thorough volume on Palestine and Syria. Its greatest merit lies in the full use the author has made of archæology—a field in which his competence is unquestioned. As a historian, primarily, rather than a theologian, Professor Olmstead is deeply concerned to get at the cultural and social, political and economic, conditions which form the background of the history. The book is filled with illustrations derived mainly from the archæological field. It will really amaze a great many readers to discover how much material is available for reconstructing the ancient past in this part of the world; and it is to be hoped that wide use will be made of the book by parish clergy and church school teachers, as well as by seminarians and college students.

It must be borne in mind that the book is a history of all Syria, and not just of Palestine; and that it is a political and cultural history, not just a religious one. However, this feature only increases its value, though we feel at times that the religious development is not quite sufficiently stressed (*e.g.* the evolution of monotheism). Still it is certain that a student who has mastered this book will read the Old Testament with far clearer insight and a deeper appreciation of its religious values.

Another outstanding feature is the hitherto unrecognized identification of Joseph with a leader of the Habiru referred to in the Amarna Letters. This makes Joseph the leader of an invading clan or tribe in Eastern Palestine late in the fifteenth century. Such an identification of course requires an entire revision of the hitherto accepted reconstruction of the course of events; the Joseph-tribes cannot very well then have escaped from Egypt in

the thirteenth century if Joseph was a leader of the invaders two hundred years before. Even Burney's theory of the Exodus must be scrapped in large measure if this identification holds good. On Olmstead's theory, Moses (about whom very little is said) becomes a leader of the Levi tribe and the hero of the Southland. (The late priestly reconstruction of the history, making Joshua the successor of Moses, is purely artificial.) Instead of finding Mosaic influence in the Book of the Covenant, Olmstead treats this as a Canaanite code based very largely on the Code of Hammurabi, but showing distinct peculiarities of its own. In fact, the whole development of Hebrew legislation has been subjected to minute and careful study: the social and religious results of the introduction of the Deuteronomic code in the days of Josiah are very adversely criticised—"So far as authority could effect that result, the peasant had been robbed of his religion" (p. 502). H, in the next place, is treated as post-exilic (p. 557)—it is the code set up to govern the returned exiles in the poor struggling community of Judah.

Still another feature, and one which will not be acceptable to many scholars, is the author's inclination to treat the Book of Ezra as authentic history; accordingly, the author dates Ezra before Nehemiah. His 'conservative' tendency is further illustrated by his acceptance of the Book of Esther as authentic history. However, such views are not really the result of theological conservatism but spring from a strict adherence to the canons of historical interpretation. The difference lies in the premises. The Aramaic documents in Ezra, the author holds, are too clearly in the appropriate style and language, and have too many close historical parallels, to be set aside as fabrications. Moreover, the only possible interpretation of the events related in Ezra-Nehemiah is against the background of contemporary Median and Persian history. The requirements of contemporary history likewise lead the author to view the Chronicler's editorial labors favorably.

However, Olmstead recognizes the difficulties, and it seems to me that his own summary of the work of Nehemiah (pp. 596 f.)

points in the other direction. Although the work of Nehemiah presupposed some knowledge of the provisions in the Priestly Code, it is far from thorough-going; and this gives away the whole case for Ezra as the champion of the P-code, and the predecessor of Nehemiah! If Ezra had inaugurated the P-code thirty-two years earlier, neither Nehemiah nor the Jews adopting Nehemiah's 'Covenant' could have ignored it. Nehemiah never mentions Ezra, nor appeals to his work or code, but acts entirely *de novo* in his reforms. The whole error is due to the Chronicler's confusion of the two Artaxerxes, preferring Artaxerxes I for Ezra's date; that is, making his formal, legal, priestly reform come first, as it naturally *should* have come in his conception of history!

A word must be said about the fine and spirited translations of the excerpts from the prophets which the author has introduced into his narrative. Some of these are dated rather late, for example, Isaiah ix and xi; but the added meaning given the passages in their new settings is, however, the author's best justification for such use. Excellent and full accounts are given of the Amarna Letters, and of the Aswan papyri. Professor Olmstead's skill as a translator is equal to his brilliance as a historian.

It is a really great work that he has given us, and is appropriately published by Messrs. Scribner in the same format as his own *History of Assyria* and Professor Breasted's *History of Egypt*. If it is not asking too much, it is certainly to be hoped that the author's intimation that a volume on the history of the Graeco-Roman Orient is to follow may not be unduly postponed in its fulfillment.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

The Prophetic Poetry of Isaiah, chapters 1-37. Translated in Parallelism from a revised Hebrew Text. By William Popper. University of California Press, 1931, pp. xi + 164. \$2.50.

I have before me, in addition to Dr. Popper's translation, the revised text on which the translation has been made and which is also published by the University of California Press. The

translation will naturally be the volume to attract the public attention, but this could not have been produced without the long labor bestowed by the author on the revision of the text. It is becoming increasingly manifest that no really satisfactory translation of the Old Testament books can be made without this preliminary labor. It is not to be expected that ecclesiastical authorities will feel that they have the warrant to proceed as drastically in this direction as the situation demands, even if they possessed the competence and the courage. Hence it is all the more praiseworthy when individual scholars prepare the way for translations which may have to wait long for general acceptance. The *First Isaiah* lends itself admirably to Professor Popper's method. Every parallelism which has been restored without Masoretic authority is marked with an x, and it is really surprising to find how few of these are needed. Too often a scholar's translation lacks the literary touch which makes it readable, but this is not the case with the present volume. The passages, with their appropriate headings, read like the authentic messages of a great poet as well as a great statesman and prophet. Their lyric quality will be a surprise to many who have perhaps thought of Isaiah as mainly a master of irony. The one misprint is an unfortunate one, namely, the substitution of *breeches* for *breaches* in the lines which should read:

"Ye commanded the builders to fortify the wall,
And the *breaches* of Jerusalem ye closed."

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

The Teaching of Jesus: Studies of its Form and Content. By T. W. Manson. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1931, pp. xi + 347. \$5.00.

Mr. Manson's book is meant for the serious student. Adopting Canon Streeter's "Four Document" hypothesis as his critical premise, every statement he makes is prefaced by a detailed investigation and tabulation of the Synoptic evidence. Then the Old Testament and Rabbinic material bearing on the theme is assembled for the setting and antecedents, and the corresponding

New Testament evidence for the apostolic understanding of the topic. Such a method, of course, is necessary for any advance in knowledge—but it debars the general reader from using the volume.

For the most part his results are along generally accepted lines, and here the difference of his approach offers a significant corroboration of conclusions already reached. The most individual feature of his work, however, is this: He attempts to set up a sort of an equation between the terms Kingdom of God, Son of Man and the Old Testament—particularly Isaianic—doctrine of the Remnant. The latter is really basic. The Old Testament writers conceive the Remnant as not Israel as a whole but a specially elect group within Israel, whose function is to be a "saving," carrying salvation to the remainder of the nation and beyond the nation to the world. In Daniel the Son of Man represents the same concept. Jesus then used "Son of Man" primarily in this sense as designating a group. But the incidents of the ministry reduced the numbers of this group until at the time of the Passion it consisted of himself alone, although after the Resurrection it began immediately and rapidly to expand once more. So "Son of Man" was—as it were—only accidentally and temporarily a personal title of Jesus; it really describes the Kingdom of God as the totality of those accepting God's sovereignty.

This theory is extraordinarily ingenious and unifies Synoptic material in a most attractive fashion. Yet the difficulties it raises are insuperable. Jesus did not conceive the Remnant as decreasing during the ministry; if there were a time when it consisted of himself alone it was at his baptism. The personal use of Son of Man, on Mr. Manson's hypothesis, should have come first, not at the end. What is more important, however, is that any "group" sense of Son of Man is simply forced into the Gospels. Mr. Manson's theory is untenable here. On the other hand, his insistence that Jesus thought of his followers not as a "saved" but as a "saving" remnant is of very great importance.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

The Fourth Gospel and the Life of To-day. By Mary Ely Lyman. Macmillan, 1931, pp. ix + 156. \$1.50.

Mrs. Lyman, who is the wife of a theologian and a theologian in her own right as is evidenced by her earlier books in the New Testament field, has devoted herself here to the very practical aim of setting forth in brief compass and for the general reader the special contribution of the Fourth Gospel to the religious needs of our age. That contribution is in a word "wholeness of view." Conceiving the greatest religious need of our time to be "a Christianity that gives full play to the intellectual quest for truth, that satisfies the demands of the human heart for an inner experience of God, and that at the same time gives full expression to those impulses in us that reach out for the making of a better world," Mrs. Lyman has exhibited the Fourth Gospel as a synthesis, "the first Christian synthesis," of intellectual, mystical, and ethical religion. A chapter is devoted to each of these. The earlier chapters deal with those preliminary questions so baffling in the case of the Fourth Gospel, yet so important for its intelligent and sympathetic reading: the peculiar nature and purpose of the book, and the special needs which gave it rise. Especially valuable is the handling of the evangelist's attitude toward history. While it is freely acknowledged that legend may have played its part in the shaping of some of the Johannine narratives, and that the evangelist was both "poet and artist," to whom the meaning of events was more important than events themselves, it is urged nevertheless that he was "believer" as well, and that he presents his material with entire "simplicity and sincerity of heart."

Mrs. Lyman's book is written out of abundant knowledge, with deep religious sympathy, and in a clear and engaging style, which taken together make it perhaps the most useful popular handbook we possess at present on the Fourth Gospel. At the same time it is a question whether the book has not gone a bit too far in claiming the Fourth Gospel as sanction for certain widely prevalent present-day attitudes evidently shared in by our author, and reflected, for example, in her use of the term "religion" as interchangeable with "the Christian religion," in the prominence given

to human effort and "experience" at the expense somewhat of the divine initiative (*cf.* the citation from Professor W. P. Montague on p. 136), in the disposition to treat the Johannine symbols as mere symbols, whereas the only adequate term for them in some instances is perhaps the un-modern one "sacraments," and in the avoidance of the terms "incarnation" and the Hebraic "Word" (coördinate with the Greek "reason" but containing the added implication of "revelation") when expounding the thought of the prologue. The summary of the evangelist's message given on pp. 116 f. is no doubt thoroughly modern, but is it Johannine? Is it truly Johannine for example to say, "A life has been lived in complete harmony with that principle [the Logos of the Greek philosophers] by Jesus of Nazareth"? Does not the evangelist's thought require us to say rather, "That principle is in the last analysis not principle but Person, and as Person it made itself fully known to us in the life and character of Jesus of Nazareth"?

But it is ungracious to find flaws in a book whose essential purpose is not academic but practical, and which in the main handles most hopefully and suggestively an extremely difficult subject.

CHARLES B. HEDRICK.

The Acts of the Apostles. By F. J. Foakes-Jackson. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1931, pp. xx + 236. \$3.50.

"This commentary is designed, not for specialists, but for those readers who require a plain statement of the contents of the Acts." The purpose of this volume is accordingly more "popular" than is the case of the other commentaries in the *Moffatt* series thus far, and this purpose has been carried out so rigidly that there is not even a bibliography: on page xiii, for instance, the names of Harnack, Torrey and Loisy occur, but the titles of their works are not given. To a certain degree Luke's narrative is supplemented from familiar sources, such as Josephus or Tacitus, but details are left uninvestigated. Historical difficulties are avoided as far as possible, often in a manner that suggests the old-fashioned apologists. On Acts 22 we read (page 201): "The speech from the steps is undoubtedly a condensed report of what

the author may actually have heard." On 10: 1-8 (page 87): "(The story) bears the stamp of probability and truth." Or on 15: 7-11 (page 137): "The words attributed to Peter are singularly appropriate to his character." In this way Dr. Foakes-Jackson contrives to render wholly inoffensive a mild undercurrent of criticism that generally confines itself to suggestions. So on 15: 7-11: "Yet the argument of the speech is remarkably Pauline." And when he in an extreme instance is obliged to deny the statement in 5: 36 he prefaces his denial (page 47) with: "It is of course possible that Gamaliel spoke on this occasion and gave the advice attributed to him in Acts." Hence the most conservative Biblicist can use this commentary without offence.

The attentive student, however, will find the critical suggestions usually very fruitful. "Stephen seems to stand to the Hellenists much as Peter did to the Hebrews" (page 53). "Is it not possible that the speech of Stephen is an earlier prophetic diatribe?" (page 68). "The eminently pastoral tone which distinguishes this address [20: 18-35] reminds the reader of the epistles to Timothy and Titus" (page 191). And it would be difficult to say more relevant things about baptism in the same space than is done on pages 18-20. But Dr. Foakes-Jackson is very careful not to follow up his suggestions, nor to probe too deeply. The real problem in Acts 18: 24-28 does not appear at all; Dr. Moffatt's mistranslation of verse 25 helping to conceal the difficulty. 13: 1-3 is left unexplored and not even its surface meaning is given adequately; when we are told (page 110) that "the purpose of laying on hands was not here ordination, but entrusting with a special commission" Luke's point is missed. The exact purpose that the decree of Acts 15 was designed to fulfil is not defined. In the sixteenth chapter the old and not very important problem of verse 3 causes the vastly greater difficulty in verse 4 to disappear; nor is the latter referred to in the treatment of 21: 17 ff. Most serious of all is the submerging of the clash between the Cornelius story and Acts 15: the reader gains no hint of what the actual history of the Peter-James-Paul conflict actually meant. Among details, to call Jewish presbyters "synagogue officials"

(page 129) is wrong. And on "praetorium" readers might have been referred to something written later than 1868 (page 211).

On the other hand, where Dr. Foakes-Jackson is superlatively excellent is in the interpretation of Acts as literature. Here his commentary stands in a class by itself. His two introductory pages xviii-xix are masterly, and the reader is made to see not only the structure of every part of the work, but its relation to Acts as a whole.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

The Meaning of the Revelation. By Philip Carrington. London: S. P. C. K.; New York: Macmillan, 1931, pp. xxvi + 424. \$5.00.

Dean Carrington's work on Revelation is not concerned so much with the sources of the book or with its historical interpretation as it is with the book as it stands, a finished literary product. He wishes to take the book just 'as is' and inquire its meaning as such. He holds that 'the Revelation of St. John is admittedly one of the loftiest mystical poems the world has produced. Dr. Charles, for example, is making a mistake when he interprets the higher by the lower'; that is, the terms used in Revelation are symbolic and need not necessarily be interpreted in the same sense as that in which they are interpreted by the anonymous authors of Enoch, Esdras, and the rest.

"The *Revelation* is capable of a high spiritual meaning throughout; and this can be no accident. A highly spiritual symbolic poem can, of course, always be interpreted literally and materially by literal and material men; it is inconceivable that a literal and materially-minded man could by accident create a poem which is capable of being interpreted spiritually; and in this matter we must trust the poets and saints and visionaries who have found that spiritual truth in the *Revelation*" (p. x).

The literary form of the Apocalypse, then, is the product of its own time; its poetic and spiritual content is the new element in it. According to Mr. Carrington, we need not look for anything specifically Christian prior to chapter x, which narrates the call

of the prophet; nor should we be surprised to find that the outlook maintained is that of 69 A.D., under the rule of Vespasian, though it was actually composed about 95. Instead of betraying the presence of earlier sources, this fact is an indication of supreme literary genius. However, there are no doubt fragments of earlier material contained in the book.

The central event of Revelation is the fall of 'Babylon,' which the author takes to be the fall of Jerusalem—a reversion to the view of Dr. Milligan; although not at all the common view, we must confess that Mr. Carrington has made this interpretation more attractive than ever.

It is also maintained that Revelation is 'in chronological and logical order'; therefore chh. x and xi are the earliest visions in the book. What precedes them is a survey of world-history up to the time of the seer's call.

Mr. Carrington also maintains that the presence of the heathen mythological element in Revelation has not been established. On the contrary, the situation in which Revelation was written called for a refutation of certain Gnostic speculations whose presence we can trace elsewhere in the New Testament. The tendency today is to find this Jewish Gnosticism where hitherto it has not been suspected; for example, in Hebrews and Philippians. The chances are that we shall find it presupposed more widely in the New Testament than has been hitherto assumed. Carrington's demonstration of its presence in the *milieu* in which the Apocalypse of John arose really adds much to the interpretation of the book.

The choicest quality in this attractive volume, however, is its literary interpretation. Carrington pleads strongly for a fair and sympathetic understanding of the book. "Let us," he says, "not disgrace our birth and breeding by calling the Apocalypse crude or materialistic or vindictive." He is reminded of the old lady who said that Bach was a nice old gentlemen who wrote five-finger exercises and called them fugues. "St. John," he maintains, "has a better sense of the right word than Stevenson; he has a greater command of unearthly, supernatural loveliness than Coleridge; he has a richer sense of melody and rhythm and composi-

tion than Bach. . . . He has seen the limitless joy and energy of creation as it vibrates in unity and obedience; he has seen the glitter and the loathsomeness of sin as it rises out of the unknown abysses of the human mind; he has seen the utter purity and intense heat of truth and justice going out to battle with flaming eyes; he has seen the corruption and cynicism of a religion which prostitutes itself to the cult of success; he has seen the flames in which sin destroys itself; he has even seen the pure and paradisaical life of the blessed in their meekness and singleness of heart" (pp. xvii-xviii).

It is a beautiful book the author has given us, and one that must assuredly be read by every one who loves the strange, mysterious, and beautiful last book of the New Testament.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Josephus on Jesus, with particular reference to the Slavonic Josephus and the Hebrew Josippon. By Solomon Zeitlin. Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1931. pp. 118. \$2.00.

Of the great learning and singular acuteness displayed in this little book there can be no doubt; but it would take a first rate scholar who had almost unlimited time at his disposal to deal with each separate point and to do justice to his theme. Here it is enough to remind the reader that since the discovery of the 'Jewish War' of Josephus in Slavonic and the publication of extracts in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texts and Studies* (1908) there has been much renewed interest shown as to whether Josephus makes any mention of Jesus Christ. The widespread rejection of the passage in the *Antiquities*, xviii by experts has begun to be questioned by many today; and from the Slavonic version it would seem that the historian knew and was interested in the Christian Messiah. Now Josephus says in the Preface to his *War*, that he had composed an account of events for the Jews 'up country,' i.e. in the Parthian Empire and had written to them in Hebrew, and Dr. Eisler maintains that this Slavonic Josephus is a rendering of the Hebrew book of Josephus which contained the Jesus passages in a different form from that in the disputed

statement in the *Antiquities*. He therefore adds to the received works of Josephus an *Halosis* or 'Capture of Jerusalem.' Zeitlin, after a visit to Russia and a personal examination of the documents has come to the conclusion that the Slavonic Josephus shows quite unmistakably the influence of the Christian Fathers and of the Chronologer Africanus, and discovers many traces of Byzantine influence in the compilation of the Slavonic account. The passage about the trial and crucifixion of Jesus was inspired by the *Acts of Pilate* (? fourth century). This book before us, brief as it is, deserves most careful attention as a valuable contribution to the Josephus controversy. There is a well-stated opinion of Zeitlin on the *Testimonium Flaviananum* in the *Antiquities*, though it is not easy to endorse the view that Eusebius deliberately invented it.

F. J. FOAKES JACKSON.

Die Mischna. Text, Übersetzung und ausführliche Erklärung. Edited by G. Beer, O. Holtzmann, and S. Krauss. Giessen: Töpelmann. i.3. *Dammai* (*Vom Zweifelhaften*). Ed. by Walter Bauer. 1931, pp. vi + 70. M. 5.80. ii.11. *Mo'ed qatan* (*Halbfeiertage*). Ed. by Eugen Ludwig Rapp. 1931, pp. iv + 59. M. 4.90. v.11. *Qinnim* (*Von den Vogelopfern*). Ed. by Oscar Holtzmann. 1931, pp. iv + 40. M. 3.40. iii.1. *Jebamot* (*Von der Schwagerehe*). Ed. by Karl Heinr. Rengstorf. 1929, pp. xi + 272. M. 27.50.

By far the most extensive of the recent publications of the Giessen Mishna is the edition of *Jebamoth* by K. H. Rengstorf. This tractate deals with the problems of levirate marriage which is one of the most striking survivals of the Old Testament law. As Rengstorf views it, the law was originally aimed not primarily in the direction of preserving the continuity of the family so much as it was designed, in the spirit of Deuteronomy, to care for the surviving widow. He traces the later development of the law down to and through the Middle Ages: In summary, "Through the course of a development covering many centuries . . . the levirate marriage can be viewed as the survival of an institution originally connected with the patriarchal marriage by purchase (Genesis, 38); and which after the decline and cessation

of tribal conditions, became chiefly a social provision for the protection of the surviving widow. As such we find it in Deuteronomy, 25: 5-10. In the period following, probably as a result of the influence of the Holiness Code and of other factors which we cannot now recover, the custom continued; though as far as it survived, it was looked upon as a divine command, without any connection with social life. The only vestige of its surviving rites at the present day is the Halisa, which, however, has a purely formal character, and since the disappearance of the levirate marriage itself, tends to be disregarded" (p. 41*).

The text is accompanied by a thoroughly reliable German translation, and a brief running historical commentary. There is also a text-critical apparatus containing the Sifre to Deut. 25.

The series as a whole is indispensable to New Testament scholars who wish to familiarize themselves with the Jewish background of the New Testament and especially of the Gospels.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

The Oldest Manuscript of the Vulgate Gospels. Deciphered and edited with an Int. and App. by Cuthbert H. Turner. Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. lxiii + 217. \$7.00.

The late Professor Turner was able to complete the greater part of his edition of the St. Gall MS. before his lamented death on October 10, 1930. Professor A. Souter has completed the task and seen the volume through the press. The volume contains a complete edition of the text—St. Gall 1395, together with one or two other fragments which Turner believed were originally part of the St. Gall MS. To this is added, in the Preface, a complete collation of the manuscript so far as it has been preserved, with the Wordsworth-White text.

The very full Introduction discusses, first, the Gospels in the Western Church and the history of the Vulgate. Chapter ii discusses the St. Gall fragments, 2, which date from about 500 A.D. The original was a slender pocket copy of the four Gospels, containing the text of St. Jerome's revision. It was written in Italy at an early date. The book became the property of the

monastery founded about A.D. 600 by St. Gall, who was one of the Irish companions of St. Columban, near the southern shore of Lake Constance. This monastery was one of the principal centers from which the Irish monks radiated the traditions of Greek and Latin learning into the remote corners of Europe. Its library contained some of the most precious of mediaeval, and indeed pre-mediaeval, manuscripts. So early was this MS. a part of the St. Gall collection and so vital was the survival of the classical tradition upheld by these monks, that on some pages notes were written in Greek, and in a script which Turner says 'would not disgrace a professional Greek master of calligraphy.' Moreover, an occasional liturgical note appears, and serves to show that the manuscript was in use as late as the eighth century.

A tragic fate overtook the manuscript some time in the Middle Ages, when a reforming librarian, 'more interested maybe in the covers of his books than in their contents,' conceived the idea of rebinding his library systematically, and using up the old books for guard-leaves in the binding of the new. Unfortunately, he chose the oldest and most valuable of his MSS. for this purpose. It was not until Ildefons von Arx, who was librarian of St. Gall near the end of the eighteenth century, noticed that many of the manuscripts had guard-leaves of the same type, that a recovery of the MS. took place. He detached these leaves and put them together in their original order, and thus restored the volume as far as it was possible to do so. Of course, the wear and tear on the manuscript pages during the centuries when they served as bindings of other books has been enormous; and many pages have gone beyond recovery. But it is still fairly possible to make out the original type of text—which Turner was convinced represented the oldest type of the Vulgate Gospels; and the actual readings are available in a real majority of passages.

It is a long history this manuscript has enjoyed, and not a very romantic one. Alas that it did not fall into better hands in the Middle Ages! All New Testament scholars are more deeply than ever in the debt of the late Professor Turner for this final and now, alas, posthumous work.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

The Christian Saga. By Norman Towar Boggs. New York: Macmillan, 1931, 2 vols., pp. xv + 1082. \$9.00.

From time to time a new star flames out in the firmament of ecclesiastical historiography. Norman Towar Boggs is hardly a *nova* of first magnitude; nevertheless, he is colorful enough to attract attention. An American, formerly lecturer in Philosophy at Columbia, he has for the past nine years been resident in France. His cited authorities are largely French, and French aspects of Christian history are treated at rather disproportionate length. He has evidently read widely, used his authorities well, and meditated maturely upon the significance of his studies. His judgments are generally accurate; at every point he seeks the social bearing and motivation of Christian movements. He resists the temptation to judge the past by our present standards. He has a special interest in the literary productions of the Christian spirit, quoting widely and at length. Occasional errors in fact (*e.g.*, the confusion of Columba and Columbanus, I, 345) indicate that he is not quite at home with the *minutiae* of ecclesiastical history.

The Christian Saga makes no pretense of being a history of the Church or of Christianity. Rather is it a dramatic account of the conquest of ancient classical culture by Christianity, of the transformation of western Europe into Christendom, of the long domination of Europe by the Church, and finally, of the gradual relaxation of that dominion, despite determined resistance, before the assaults of the modern spirit. In other words, it is the story of what Christianity has done to (or for) Europe; and of what, more recently, Europe has done to Christianity. A worthy theme for a *saga*! The treatment is always reverently sympathetic; and though Boggs seems to be convinced that Christianity has run its course, so far as any real influence on Christendom is concerned, he awaits the *finale* with evident regret.

Of course there are many gaps. America and the East are ignored. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Basil of Caesarea, are not mentioned; while the name of Irenaeus occurs only incidentally. One looks in vain for any reference to Bucer, Spener, or Ritschl. Cranmer is twice mentioned casually in connection

with Henry's matrimonial adventures. Neither Hooker nor Laud is to be found in the index, but Jeremy Taylor and Thomas Browne appear there. The second volume, particularly, gives room to a number of matters not commonly treated in histories of the Church, although more or less pertinent and enlightening. Altogether, this is perhaps the better part of the work.

The Christian Saga is written for people who like well-made books and enjoy history with a tang to it. Boggs has sought to do for the history of Christianity what Wells has done for general history and the Beards for American. It is far superior to Lewis Browne's *Since Calvary*, because free from cynicism and lofty disdain. One wishes, however, that the author had taken greater pains to make his style more uniformly clear and smooth.

P. V. NOORWOOD.

The Natural and the Supernatural. By J. W. Oman. Macmillan, 1931, pp. 506. \$3.00.

A massive, inclusive philosophy of religion, this; it is long, close-packed, exceedingly rich in concrete content, vigorous and straightforward in style, presenting no great difficulty in the mere understanding of what is said.

The largeness of the environment, of the antinomies in our apprehension of it, of the commitment of ourselves in all our powers required for a unified attitude of a unified self toward a unified universe—this theme recurs constantly. The environment cannot possibly be restricted to that which is explainable in it. It is better not to start, Cartesian fashion, with a few clear and distinct ideas and try to build up from those, but to start with a wide-eyed awareness, such as a child or Shakespeare may have, of everything in its concreteness and all things in their unity. Then one can see sanely the great dualities, knower and object known, necessity and freedom, the evanescent and the eternal, and, through all the rest, the Natural and the Supernatural. "As here used, the Supernatural means the world which manifests more than natural values, the world which has values which stir

the sense of the holy and demand to be esteemed as sacred. . . . Part of what we experience is natural, in the sense that its values are comparative and to be judged as they serve our needs; and part of it supernatural, in the sense that its values are absolute, to which our needs must submit" (71-2).

Within this broad and not too new frame, there is thoroughly concrete work in the discriminating appreciation given to various philosophies, various religions, various prophetic and poetic insights. The issues involved are luminously revealed; but of course from the general standpoint one should not expect these issues to be met by a clear-cut decision for this and against that; there is a certain lack of condemnation of error. The severest condemnation is of insincerity, which is splendidly treated. Almost a *tour-de-force* is the aligning of *karma* alongside of mechanistic naturalism, both being theories of mere equivalence of reaction to action, and the latter probably the more defective of the two. Man's first great generalization was that of equivalence between act and award, dominant in the 6th century B.C., and fruitful in fore-sighted industry and jurisprudence; to it corresponds the great 19th-century generalization of equivalence between cause and effect, fruitful (and limited) in ways that we know. . . . Lloyd Morgan is tagged as "merely Spinoza turned biologist."

The book has no taint of the homiletic-apologetic: all the more for that reason it carries a conviction of reliability, wholeness, solidity, in this theism, that calls for repeated study.

M. B. STEWART.

What Is Hell? By W. R. Inge, Oliver Lodge, Abbot Butler, Warwick Deeping, J. E. C. Welldon, James Moffatt, Annie Besant, Sheila Kaye-Smith, W. E. Orchard, F. W. Norwood, G. Hay Morgan, Irwin Edman. New York: Harper, 1930, pp. 186.

Despite the startling title, and the lurid jacket in which the book arrives, this is a restrained and sober—though not sombre—discussion of the doctrine by a representative group of thinkers. We use the word 'group,' but not as implying that the writers

composing it belong to any one wing of thought, or can by any imagination be considered as forming a 'bloc' in school. Anglican and Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and Theosophist, Mystic and pagan contribute short, sincere, but apparently independent, discussions of the subject which is approached by many roads and studied from many angles. From the diversity of standpoint and the independence of thought represented by the essayists, one would expect a wide divergence of opinion. On the contrary one is astonished at the practical unanimity of the conclusion reached, namely, that while our ideas of the meaning of Hell have undergone a radical modification, yet our conviction of the reality of Hell has not been weakened, but on the other hand has been intensified. Even to those who might be disposed to question the reality of Heaven, the existence of Hell is a moral necessity. To one who styles himself a pagan, the assurance of a real hell survives even the loss of faith in the existence of God. In the traditional theology, says he, 'the sinner in Hell could not call on God because God's ear was against him. The modern tormented ones are in a Hell they do not believe in and believe in no God upon whom they could call' (p. 181). "We are further than ever, perhaps, from Heaven; but we come as near as ever to knowing Hell."

Significant is this new interest in the whole subject of eschatology, and the realization that a new eschatology must follow logically upon the new cosmology. For, as Dean Inge points out, the old tradition has been somewhat discredited in two directions, by the advance of humanitarianism, and by the advance of science. Modern astronomy has finally undermined the possibility of believing in a localized Heaven and Hell; and "eternal" can no longer be confused with "everlasting." "Religion has no interest in simple unending existence."

We cannot begin or end our thinking with Heaven or Hell, but we must go back to the pivot of all our thinking, to God Himself. The religious movement, we are reminded, does not start from immortality. "With Christ the Kingdom of God in the heart of men is central, immortality peripheral" (p. 13). "It is not

the greatest sinners who shudder at the thought of Hell, but the greatest saints, who know what the loss would be if God turned his face away from them. So they heap on images of horror, using all they have heard or can imagine of body torment and misery and still the reality exceeds all they can say. Take these images out of their religious context and they become monstrous and revolting. . . . But make God central, and our future peripheral, and the violence of the symbolism becomes intelligible. Where we moderns complacently paint grey on grey, the saints have seen blinding light and inky darkness" (p. 15). 'If the superior smile with which the mention of Hell is received by our modern guides is only part of a plan to banish fear from religion, and to paint God as a good-natured and easy-going ruler, it is necessary to protest that this is not the Christian religion. We are to serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear, for our God is a consuming fire.' And compare this statement from Dr. Moffatt: 'It seems impossible to eliminate all the severe sayings of Jesus about the future from the tradition of His teaching. That teaching was not an amiable gospel of reconciliation. His gospel was for Him a gospel, a matter of life or death. He believed that the attitude of men toward Himself as the Divine Son and Lord was critical: by that their fate was to be determined. . . . Hell means man's failure, and Jesus never assumed that He would succeed with all. There is an inexorable note in His teaching, which no trustworthy criticism can get rid of: it is organic to His message. . . . Those who regard Christianity as no more than a genial gospel of goodwill, or a social programme of betterment in the present order, or a mild scheme of progressive idealism, naturally have no place for Hell in their outlook. . . . But when Christianity is taken seriously and when the Lord Jesus Christ is worshipped, then sin is not to be put by. And the conception of sin has implications. . . . Belief in Hell is an element of any religion which is morally healthy. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"'

As indicated, this book contains a most timely and significant restatement of the eschatological doctrines by men thoroughly

abreast of the time, and representation of every wing of thought, uniting in a reverent spirit and fully cognizant of the gravity of the issues involved. "The doctrine of Hell," writes Dr. Orchard, "is the very keystone of Christian Theology; if it has fallen out, nothing can rebuild the system."

There has escaped the writers scarcely a phase of the great theme, but it is to be regretted that one of the most reverent and spiritually satisfying essays of the British edition ('Love and Hell,' by Ernest Raymond) is omitted from the American edition of Harper and Brothers. This author dwells on the inherent weakness of any attempt to give a rational exposition of what Hell is, because Hell, like Heaven, is not in its final meaning apprehensible by reason. Its existence *can* be apprehended, but only by a spiritual faculty that is different from reason—"Indeed, the fine brain, as it becomes more and more perfect for its reasoning exercises, may lead its owner further and further away from any knowledge of spiritual truth, because the spiritual power is atrophying in favor of the intellectual—a condition which, with all respect, I believe to be induced by many a British Association scientist today, and by at least one mathematically minded Bishop. The specialist of whom one must seek information of Hell is not the man with the finest intelligence we can find in the world, but the man of greatest sanctity. . . . Heaven is that undeniable blessedness won by the wholly self-less; Hell is that undeniable cursedness won by the wholly self-centered. Heaven is comingling; Hell is loneliness."

Does this revival of interest in Christian eschatology, witnessed in other fields, as in the recent revision of the American Book of Common Prayer, point to the beginning of a revival of faith? "It is curious to find," says Sheila Kaye-Smith, "that every religious revival has been accompanied by a quickening sense of the dangers and terrors of Hell."

WM. H. DuBOSE.

The Catholic Church and the Citizen. By John A. Ryan. Macmillan, 1928, pp. 91. \$1.00.

The curse of our society is slovenliness. The child in school is allowed to choose his own "projects," and he is not so silly as to pick out hard ones. When he grows up he not only will not, but cannot, do any work requiring precision either of hand or brain. For handicraft he substitutes a machine and for intellect emotion. We are a race of dabsters. Anyone can blow upon a saxophone, paint a picture, write a poem, or govern the state.

In statecraft dire necessity is at last forcing us to do a little real thinking. Disarmament efforts, the tax laws, the prohibition law, the naturalization law, all raise questions of the moral authority of the state and the binding force of statutes. We are beginning to recognize again that there is a moral law, eternal in the heavens, of which earthly laws are at best imperfect shadows and at worst caricatures.

If there is an eternal scheme of justice, then we ought to take account of it in our political philosophy. A purely secular point of view will not suffice. Roman Catholics have always recognized this. So, in fact, did Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, and later Hooker and Jonathan Edwards. But for more than a century English Protestantism has been content to take its political philosophy from Rousseau and John Stuart Mill and its jurisprudence from Austin and Bentham.

American Protestants, likewise, either do not think at all, or else swallow whole the political ethics of non-religious and secular philosophers. The atrophy of the religious-political sense is well-nigh complete. It simply does not occur to Protestants that there is any appeal from the ballot-box. Whatever is to be done must be done through direct political action.

This procedure is already pretty thoroughly discredited. If American Protestantism is ever to regain moral influence in modern society, it must develop a systematic civic philosophy upon a religious basis. It must read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest what the early reformers and such moderns as Karl Barth have

to say, and taking what they can give, build anew for the present time.

Until this has been done Protestants will do well to ponder thoughtful books from the Roman Catholic point of view. Of these none is better worth reading than those of Doctor Ryan, and especially the book which is here reviewed. His activities as director of the department of social activity of the Catholic Welfare Conference acquit him of being a mere arm chair philosopher. He has demonstrated that social activity is all the better for being informed by a religious civic philosophy.

There is little in the Roman point of view from which the Protestant might dissent. Both recognize, or should recognize, that in the spiritual sphere the will of God, as interpreted by conscience, must be supreme. The only difference is that the Protestant conscience is left to its own devices in applying moral principles to cases, whereas the Roman Catholic is guided more or less—probably less than we are accustomed to suppose—by the institution.

The discussion in the chapter entitled, 'The Binding Force of Civil Law,' is well worth reading in connection with present controversy over the Macintosh case.

"An unjust law has no validity in morals, nor any binding force in conscience. Injustice in a statute may take two forms: it may command a violation of the moral law, or it may merely disregard a human right. . . . Immoral enactments of the former kind could never be conscientiously obeyed by any citizen. Laws which merely violated rights might be observed with a good conscience, if that seemed the smaller of the two evils. Obviously, however, there could be no moral obligation to observe such enactments. This evidently reasonable doctrine unduly disturbs some good persons in our country, and probably in other countries as well. They think that it is unsafe, because it would make the individual citizen the judge of the rightness or wrongness of civil laws. It is safer, they think, to cling to the general proposition that all laws must be obeyed. No such harsh alternative is necessary or justified. The conscientious citizen will not lightly assume that

any civil law is unjust, much less that it violates his rights. He will examine the question carefully and will seek guidance from those who may be more skilled than he in deciding questions of this kind. To require of the citizen more than this, to impose upon him a blind obedience to all civil laws, is to convert state omnipotence, or state tyranny, into a moral principle."

CHARLES LEMUEL DIBBLE.

"*Yes, But—*" *The Bankruptcy of Apologetics*. By Willard L. Sperry. Harper, 1931, pp. 185. \$2.00.

Dean Sperry is impatient of the apologist, who grudgingly concedes the advent of new truths, "but"—tries to accommodate them to his tradition. One would think apologists were hired to defend known errors against known truths: this is hardly fair to the great systematic defenders of the faith, whose ruling conviction has been that truths must be reconcilable with other truths.

His last chapter is likewise provocative, a sketchy criticism of some current Christologies, with a suggestion of a deeper (still somewhat nebulous) Christology to take their place. To interpret Irenaeus and Athanasius as teaching that "Christianity aims to make us divine in the same way and to the same degree that Jesus was divine" (159) is worse than provocative.

But the middle portion of the book is a masterly survey of the present position and future prospects of Liberalism. Religion is concerned with two great foci, God and man; sometimes it moves toward the one, goes as far as it can on that tack, and then must come about and sail toward the other, always trying to get nearer to a windward point where the tension of God and man is resolved. Liberalism is strictly defined as cultivation of man, individual and social. It was needed when religion had gone so far in concern with God that it had become a sterile theology. Liberalism, in turn, has gone so far in concern with man that with Humanism it has reached the stage of senile, sterile theory. What is needed is to come about and make toward the great objectivities, to contemplate this universe rather than use it for human desires, to find out about God rather than harness

him up to human wishes. The antithesis is followed out broadly and brilliantly—Liberalism and “illiberal Liberalism,” man and God, subjective and objective, magic and mysticism, romance and reality. Among American theological students, essayists, artists, the turn has already begun to be made. Where students used to compose sermons on the ethics of Jesus, they now make them on the idea of God. And the Dean has found that astronomy, while it does not directly help the poor, greatly enlarges one’s idea of God, and “greatly enlarged ideas of God are supremely necessary to religion” and to the helping of the poor.

All this is relative to the American scene, and no reference is made to the vast mass of corroborative evidence to be seen in the like change of direction in Europe, from subjectivity, anthropocentrism, to objectivity, theocentrism. We have been thinking of the European movement as a result of the war; but America has not been so hurt by the war. The search for God is deeper than that: it is not a mere running away from disaster, but a recurrence to truth.

M. B. STEWART.

St. Ignatius. By Christopher Hollis. Harper and Brothers, 1931, pp. xi + 287. \$2.50.

This book makes no pretension to scholarship. Nevertheless it has some distinct scholarly qualities.

First, it allows for the law of diminishing returns in the biographer’s art: it knows that there is little new to be said about Ignatius. From the reviewer’s point of view it is a comfort to read a life of a well-known and well-studied subject that is not straining for novelty.

Second, it is frank. Anyone familiar with either history or biography knows how comparatively seldom the historian or biographer has resisted the temptation to over-tell his story or to sanctify his hero. Mr. Hollis displays an engaging frankness. He strengthens rather than weakens his tale by showing, for example, that the manners of certain of the delegates to the Council of Trent were atrocious and by allowing that Ignatius

was at times a bit "Puritanical"! Apparently he knows that even councils marked by temper and insult may achieve excellent and lasting results, and that vivid experiences of God may be found within imperfect human nature.

Third, it gently reflects upon the meaning of Ignatius. In other words, it asks the question whether the saint's unique experiences have any objective reality and it answers yes. In a quiet and confident way it assumes that the unusual man probably has unusual thoughts and unusual companionships, and that with him signs of heavenly inspiration and divine friendship are more to be expected than those of an average character. All of which means that the author has religious imagination qualified by common sense.

HENRY BRADFORD WASHBURN.

Life of Phillips Brooks. By William Lawrence. "Creative Lives" Series. Harper, 1931, pp. viii + 151. \$2.00.

Bishop Lawrence has done the Church and the Nation a real service in this volume. There was need for a brief, popular, first-hand story of this great American; for the excellent biography by Prof. Allen is too bulky and formidable to prove easy reading, and even the printed sermons by Phillips Brooks and his Lectures on Preaching are insufficient to produce an adequate impression of the great soul behind the spoken words. No one could have supplied us with this desideratum with more understanding, sympathy, and appreciation than the distinguished successor of Brooks in the episcopate. For while he acknowledges the use of Allen's invaluable 'Life' of Phillips Brooks, Bishop Lawrence is by no means dependent solely upon it. His own recollections of the hero of his story, and his own spiritual apprehension of the motives behind the man, combine to make his testimony peculiarly valuable and timely. The brief record that he leaves us in this small volume whets the appetite for more about the great man, and sends the reader back to the Sermons and to the 'Life' by Allen, which one can now re-read with keener insight and deeper appreciation.

Phillips Brooks will live on as the prophet rather than as the priest. The man and his message will abide in the hearts of the people. The impression left by a study of his biography is almost that of a fatality attaching to his elevation to the episcopate. Under the burdens of this onerous office, the giant frame, already weakened by prolonged and incessant overwork—literally consumed in the Service of his Master—gave way, and the career of the man of God was cut short before the time.

"Stranger said to stranger, friend to friend, 'Phillips Brooks is dead.' For three days there was deep depression at the sense of loss. Gradually the feeling became dominant that his work was done, that his life, though cut off at fifty-seven, was rounded out. . . . Brooks was so large, unselfish, and unconscious of himself that when he had gone, the people, instead of dwelling on their loss, were grateful that he had been among them, and took up the work where he left off" (p. 145).

High praise, and well deserved! We commend the study of this great man's life and example to laity and clergy alike, but more especially to the young aspirant for Holy Orders. What Phillips Brooks did for the Cause of Christ in his day, needs to be done anew in every age, notably in these troublous days when men's hearts are failing them. The example of his life and achievements, under the guidance of the Spirit, is a tonic such as men need today.

WM. H. DuBOSE.

The Church and Industry. By Spencer Miller and Joseph F. Fletcher. Longmans, 1931, pp. xiii + 273. \$2.50. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

In 1898 before the General Convention of the Church, a presentation was made of the principles, aims and activities of the C. A. I. L.—the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, one of the first attempts to focus the thought of churchmen on industrial problems. The report was referred to a committee, and never heard from again.

In 1931 before the General Convention of the Church a presentation of the industrial problem in the eyes of the Church, was given the greatest applause of the whole session. It was pre-

sented by a member of the staff of the National Council's Department of Christian Social Service. With the research assistant of the Division of Industrial Relations of that department, he is author of the book before us.

These two events are on either end of a movement which is the plot of the book. The movement had its beginnings in the Church of England, and has its cousins there today. It has changed its form in thirty years, and is now one of the commitments of the Church in her national aspects, as well as being the aim of unofficial vital Church organizations.

There is brave reading here, of men and women who early espoused the cause of the workingman. There is challenge in the achievements that are recorded. And there is courage, derived from a worthy past filled with inspiring names to spur the church of today on to similar attacks on similar evils.

Indifferent, intrigued, insistent—those three adjectives sum up the history of the movement. Collectively the Church at first turned a deaf ear to the challenge of the industrial development: then was slightly intrigued by the ardor of its "radicals," and obligingly passed formal resolutions. Today only a superficial observer would deny that the Church conscience is insistent that the whole realm of industrial relations be brought under the light of the Christian conscience.

This volume, itself a landmark in the history of the movement, is a necessity to any who would understand the Church's place in industry, and an inspiration to the many who have a feeling that "something ought to be done," but are in helpless bewilderment as to how to go about it.

ALFRED NEWBERY.

The Art of Mental Prayer. By Bede Frost. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1931, pp. xvi + 269. \$3.40.

This book is divided into three parts. The first deals with the importance of "mental prayer" as the most neglected aspect of the Catholic revival, with the character of the Christian life

as a mystical participation in the divine life of Christ and with the necessity of personal and interior prayer as the sole means by which men can gain personal acquaintance with the realities of religion.

The second part consists of brief analyses of the "methods" of prayer developed by some of the great spiritual directors of the 16th and later centuries. Six "methods" are treated; the Ignatian, Franciscan, Carmelite, Salesian, Liguorian and Oratorian.

Part three, entitled "Explanations," is a discussion of some of the chief difficulties in "mental prayer," of the ascetic and spiritual preparation for prayer, of the progressive levels of prayer, and of the direction of souls in the life of prayer.

The expressed purpose of the book is to give clergy and devout laity a brief treatment of the interior life of prayer in its earlier stages as taught by the great masters of the spiritual life.

The book is pronouncedly Catholic in emphasis, presuppositions and terminology. It is presented as a contribution to what the writer views as the next step in the Counter-Reformation within Anglicanism. There has been a widespread recovery of Catholic doctrine and practice. Only a recovery of Catholic devotional life among clergy and laity can consolidate and bring the full fruits to these gains. From the standpoint of the reviewer the book is tryingly blind to the high levels of devotion and God-centredness which have been produced by the Reformation Churches. The writer follows the widespread practice of ascribing to Protestantism the products of modern secularism.

The author shows a wide familiarity with the literature. He gives us a valuable bibliography. The book is rich in quotations. It will do much good if it serves as one more influence leading to a greater emphasis on prayer in the training of the ministry and in the work of the ministry. But it is doubtful whether it can be read with much interest or benefit except by those who are at home in the technical language of devotional guides. Little is done to translate that language into our "tongue." The out-

lines of the several "methods" are too bare to mean much to those who have not read the originals. The ordinary reader will get from them an impression of sameness and repetition. The most valuable use of the book would be as a guide and commentary for the study of some of the classical treatments of "mental prayer" to which it recalls us.

ANGUS DUN.

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

General

Religious Essays. By Rudolf Otto. Tr. by Brian Lunn. Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. vii + 160. \$2.50.

The essays contained in this volume have appeared partly in the supplement to the later German editions of *The Idea of the Holy*, partly elsewhere. They are grouped about the three following subjects: Theology, under which appear papers with such titles as 'What Is Sin?', 'The Battle between Flesh and Spirit,' 'The Christian Idea of "Lostness,"' and then some practical suggestions on liturgical reform; second, the Science of Religion, dealing with Schleiermacher's rediscovery of the numinous sense, the 'wholly other' in religious history and theology, and the question of a universal religion; finally, two appendixes on the common tasks of Protestantism and an inter-religious league.

One of the papers on liturgical reform was published in this journal, and although the translation follows the one published here word for word, even to the translation of the hymns, the English editor has not noted the fact.

Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. 2d ed. Ed. by Hermann Gunkel and Leopold Zscharnack. Lfng. 110-115. Tübingen: Mohr, 1931. M. 1.80 each.

At last, the great new *RGG* is complete and the final Lieferung contains the title page and preface to volume v. What Dr. Zscharnack says in this preface is perfectly true—the new Encyclopædia gives "a cross-section of the theology of our time." As has been pointed out before, this new edition is not simply a revision of the first but a complete rewriting. It is a thoroughly reliable encyclopædia and gives valuable and up-to-date bibliographies.

History of Religions

Die Orientalischen Religionen im Römischen Heidentum. By Franz Cumont. Tr. from the fourth French ed. on the basis of the translation of Gehrich by August Burckhardt-Brandenberg. 3d ed. Leipzig: Teubner, 1931, pp. xvi + 334 + viii double-page Plates. M. 14.

This latest edition of the German translation of Cumont's classic work has the advantage of containing additions to the notes and plates which the author conveyed to the editor in 1930. The translation has been thoroughly gone over and improved at many points; although American and British students will probably continue to use the translation of Grant Showerman published in 1911; though for reference purposes and for thorough work no one can dispense himself from this very full and definitive German edition.

The illustrations are accompanied by explanatory notes which add greatly to their value.

Indien und das Christentum, I Teil. Indische Frömmigkeit. By Hilko Wiardo Schomerus. Halle-Saale: Waisenhaus, 1931, pp. viii + 198. M. 9.

Dr. Schomerus has planned a work on *India and Christianity* in three volumes and the present instalment contains excellent promise of what is to come. Indeed, the *Buddha und Christus*, recently reviewed in this journal, has already placed us in the author's debt. His purpose is to enter sympathetically into the understanding of Indian religion as a living faith, a purpose which experience in South India has admirably fitted Dr. Schomerus to realise. He then proceeds to explain what are the essential features of this faith and it is on the basis of this exposition that he is able to expound the advantages of Christianity to the Indian. He thus establishes the proper *raison d'être* of the Christian missionary and is able to suggest the proper *modus operandi* for his work. In the present volume the threefold aspect of Indian religion as Karma-kanda, Jñāna-kanda and Bhakti is lucidly presented, with especial attention devoted to the last. The author is right in finding the roots of Bhakti far back in Vedic and Upanishadic times, but he might perhaps have mentioned the influence of Sufism after the Muhammadan invasions. It was this influence which helped to raise the sages of Mediaeval India from the vague philosophical *Theopanism* of the earlier time and made possible a real devotion to God conceived of as personal. Every student of Indian religion, and, in particular, every Christian missionary should make himself acquainted with this volume. H. H. G.

Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter. By Erdmann Fritsch. Breslau: Muller and Seiffert, 1930, pp. 157. M. 8.

Dr. Fritsch has rendered a very great service in giving us an account of the many Christian-Muhammadan controversies which went on more or less continually during the Umayyad and the early years of the Abbasid Khalifate. We had not before appreciated the grotesque quality of many of the arguments used on the one side and the other by controversialists who met head on in the first centuries of Muhammadan-Christian conflict. It is some comfort to know that, while religious controversy has by no means ceased, yet, so far as it is carried on by men presumed to be scholars, the amenities are much better preserved to-day than a thousand years ago. On the whole, in the catena of controversialists here given, Islam fares rather worse than Christianity. The prophecies of Muhammad discovered in the Old Testament and in the New alike outstrip any of the alleged prophecies of Christ hitherto adduced by the most literal minded of textual conservatives. The objections to the doctrine of the Trinity set forth are upon the same level. Occasionally philosophy and metaphysics enter the field with some degree of seriousness, but even here the debaters can hardly be said to sustain any reputation they may have had as thinkers. The book ought to prove exceedingly useful to those engaged in the study of a little traversed field in religious history. It will be found, moreover, to shed much light upon the early relations of Muhammadans and Chris-

tians in general. It is interesting by the way to learn that Adam spoke Arabic in Paradise, forgot it in favor of Syriac after the expulsion from Eden, and only relearned it through the preaching of Muhammad. It is quite striking also to note the extent to which the 'offence of the Cross' operated in holding Muhammadans back from the consideration of the Christian message. H. H. G.

Buddha und Christus. By Hilko Wiardo Schomerus. Halle-Saale: Waisenhaus, 1931, pp. 91. M. 3.50.

The author presents us in this volume with 'ein Vergleich zweier grosser Weltreligionen' and accomplishes his purpose with insight and skill. He gives us first an account of the missionary work by which Buddhism on the one hand and Christianity on the other were propagated eastward and westward. Then he enters upon a comparison of the character and career of the two Founders and the methods of their respective teaching. Next he describes the metaphysical background of the two systems and the divergent ends of their respective theories of redemption. The fourth section builds upon all this and shows the vast superiority of Christianity in its application to the problems of life as compared with the teachings of Gautama. Dr. Schomerus concludes: "Buddha oder Christus? Ich denke, es ist kein Zeichen von Minderwertigkeit, wenn man sich für Christus entscheidet."

The book is a good one to put into the hands of any who may be led away by the superficial enthusiasm for Buddhism such as is often presented to Americans. H. H. G.

Die Mission des Christentums in Indien. By Friedrich Heiler. 'Marburger Theologische Studien.' Gotha: L. Klotz, 1931, pp. 54. M. 2.60.

This excellent monograph by Dr. Heiler is one of the contributions made in the series planned in honor of Dr. Rudolph Otto. It attempts to answer the question: 'Hat das Christentum gegenüber einem so reichem und lebensstarken Religionsbilde wie dem indischen überhaupt ein Recht zu missionieren?' He replies in no uncertain terms that India needs Christianity. But he points out several ways in which missionary work in India might well be reformed. He argues that the Christian religion should never be allowed to alienate the Indian from love of his mother-land; that there should be some accommodation of Christian practice to Indian institutions, even to such as caste; that the sacred writings of India should be used as a kind of Old Testament for the New Testament of the Christian Gospels; that the terminology of Christian theology should endeavor to employ terms familiar in the philosophy of India; that Christian churches and service-books should approximate in form the Indian equivalents; and that the Christian ministry should aim to fulfil the ideals of the *sunyāsi*. In this last connection he speaks approvingly of the Anglican *Christa Seva Sangha*, under Father J. C. Winslow, whom he quotes in conclusion: "Dieses Land der Hindu wird einst die Welt den Wert christlichen Glaubens und Lebens lehren." H. H. G.

Gandhi, Christus und wir Christen. By Walter Gabriel. Halle: Waisenhaus, 1931, pp. 61. M. 3.60.

A quite discriminating comment on such overdrawn eulogies as, for instance, that of Romain Rolland: "Ein sterblicher Halbgott, der die neue Menschheit fortführt in eine neue Zeit."

Dr. Gabriel has no difficulty in showing that, in spite of Gandhi's present vogue, there is an immeasurable gulf between him and his views on the one hand and the person and teaching of Christ on the other. The author, indeed, declares: "Sein Streben ist ethisch, nicht eigentlich religiös, sachlich nicht persönlich."

His conclusion is expressed in the words: "Gandhi ist wahrlich einer der Grössten, die von Weibern geboren sind, aber kleiner als der Kleinste im Himmelreich." And again: "Aber auch Gandhi braucht das Evangelium wie wir. Auch er sehnt sich ja: Näher, mein Gott, zu Dir."

The book is well written, but several misspellings of proper names have crept in, such as *Hurley* for *Huxley*, *Andrey-Murrays* for *Andrew Murray*, *Roseberry* for *Rosebery*, *Gibbons* for *Gibbon*, and *Saponjini Naidu* for *Sarojini Naidu*. H. H. G.

Gandhi at Work: More of his own story. Edited by C. F. Andrews. New York: Macmillan, 1931, pp. 407. \$2.50.

The present volume contains the interesting story of Mr. Gandhi's campaigns in South Africa for the removal of the many disabilities under which Indians suffered in the Transvaal, Natal and Cape Colony until finally relieved by remedial legislation. The first batch of indentured laborers from India arrived in South Africa in 1860 and for some years after this they were little better than slaves. Even at the expiration of their indenture period they suffered from a good many galling restrictions. In gaining relief for his fellow countrymen there can be no doubt that Mr. Gandhi rendered service to humanity and in such a book as this the enigmatical Indian figure, so strange a combination of the visionary and the shrewdest of politicians, appears at its best. Certainly, in this case the principle of *Satyagraha* worked, though some will feel that the same end might have been attained, with less violence and with less suffering for those concerned, had a less uncompromising attitude towards the South African officials been adopted.

Mr. Andrews has done his work as editor with skill and of course with something more than sympathy. Indeed so intense a hero-worshiper can hardly be expected to give us every phase of Mr. Gandhi's many-sided personality.

H. H. G.

Biblical

Autour d'Ezéchiel. By William Goy. Église Evangélique Libre du Canton de Vaud, Faculté de Théologie, Lausanne, 1931, pp. 34.

The first thirteen pages of this pamphlet contain the annual report of the president, leaving too little space for anything approaching a full treatment of

the difficulties which have recently been raised in regard to Ezekiel. M. Goy makes excellent use of the pages allotted him, giving a purely objective view of the position of Torrey, James Smith and Hölscher; a brief criticism of these follows, Torrey's theory in particular being found untenable; finally we have the expression of the author's own sound conclusion, that these works have necessitated a fresh study of Ezekiel. F. H. H.

Die drei älteren Evangelien. By Petrus Dausch. Bonn: Hannstein, 1932, pp. xv + 588. M. 19.50.

The latest volume in the fourth edition of Tillmann's stately New Testament series; unlike the volume on the Imprisonment Epistles, however, this commentary on the Synoptists is not greatly changed from the third edition. The chief enlargements are in the treatment of Mark; these should have been very much more extensive, for Mark is still treated as a sort of supplement to Matthew and is dismissed in only fifty-two pages. But Dr. Dausch has gone carefully over the technical literature of his subject and has brought his references up to date. As a strict Roman Catholic, however, he has made no concessions to "criticism"; his commentary remains as it was before, an admirable exposition of the surface meaning of the text. B. S. E.

Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition. By Rudolf Bultmann. 2d edition. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931, pp. 8* + 408. M. 23 (bound).

The first edition of this work—which has become a classic in the field of form-criticism—was published in 1921 and contained only 232 pages. But the difference in size between the two editions is not so marked as the increased pagination would seem to indicate, for the work has been reset in a much larger type, and the changes in the text are comparatively few. The great difference is in the footnotes, which in the new edition sometimes fill half a page. These are mostly devoted to corroborative examples of Dr. Bultmann's theory, gleaned from the research of the past decade, and they are rich in materials from non-Christian and non-Jewish sources. To the criticisms of his theory the author pays little attention; he contents himself by restating it just about as it was, with occasional amplifications. B. S. E.

Studien zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments und der Alten Kirche. By Adolf von Harnack. Vol. I. *Zur neutestamentlichen Textkritik.* Berlin: De Gruyter, 1931, pp. ix + 256. Bd. M. 12.

The series of 'Arbeiten zur kirchengeschichte' is to contain three volumes in which will be reprinted the most important of Professor von Harnack's selected papers published in reports of the Prussian Academy and in journals and commemorative volumes. Professor Lietzmann, editor of the series, has edited this volume. The present one contains the more important of Harnack's papers on the New Testament text, together with one on the Vulgate text of Hebrews which has not hitherto been published. This interesting paper undertakes to reconstruct the Greek text presupposed by the Vulgate.

St. Paul's Conception of Recompense. By Floyd V. Filson. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1931, pp. 152. M. 11.50 (bound).

This is an expanded Basel doctorate dissertation, with all the thoroughness of research and of literary citation to be expected in such a work. Dr. Filson asks this question: Does Paul's doctrine of justifying grace rule out a parallel conception of human merit to be reckoned with by God? And his answer is a decided negative. Sinful Christians may very truly deprive themselves of the benefits of grace by their actions. And even righteous Christians will receive varying rewards, dependent not on their faith but on their works. The difficulty with all such investigations, of course, is that they ask questions which the apostle himself never formulated sharply, and that they do not take sufficiently into consideration the changes of mood that appear in the Epistles. On the problem of merit Paul was no more a wholly self-consistent writer than he was on (say) the problem of the Law. Any reconstruction of his thought that does not leave a number of "rough edges" is consequently deficient. But, apart from this, Dr. Filson has done just about all that can be done in systematizing this special aspect of Paulinism. B. S. E.

Church History

A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Christianity. Ed. by S. J. Case. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. xi + 265. \$2.50.

The Preface announces that this Guide is not "an exhaustive bibliographical compilation" but a "careful selection of representative titles." A perusal of the volume leaves the reader in complete agreement with the first statement, for a list of important names and titles omitted would be a long one. But the reader will certainly be dubious about the "careful selection." On what possible principle of selection, e.g., has Schuster's *The Sacramentary* been omitted in liturgical lists which include Thurston's *Stations of the Cross*, or de Ghellinck's name from mediæval sections which find room for the notice of short magazine articles from the *Journal of Religion*? With the possible exception of Chapter VII (History of Eastern Christianity) and Chapter VIII (Christianity in the Americas), the book will prove of little value to the "students and teachers" to whom it is addressed. W. F. W.

Monastic Life at Cluny, 910-1157. By Joan Evans. Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. xix + 137. \$5.00.

This book was written to "give a picture of monastic life in the early Middle Ages drawn from contemporary sources." It actually does more than this, for the first two chapters give a history of the foundation of the abbey of Cluny and the growth of the Cluniac Order to the death of Peter the Venerable. The following chapters on the life and administration of the abbey are based on the *Consuetudines*. This involves a certain limitation, for there is little attempt to investigate the question as to how nearly the ideal set forth in the *Consuetudines* was realized. The book does not attempt to deal with the in-

fluence of Cluny on the Church at large. There is a chapter on "Art and Letters at Cluny" which contains much interesting material and makes the reader look forward with pleasure to the "more intensive study of Cluniac Art" promised by the author. The book is beautifully printed and illustrated.

W. F. W.

Saint Anschaire. Un Missionnaire en Scandinavie au IXe siècle. By E. de Moreau. Louvain: Museum Lessianum, 1930, pp. xiii + 160. Fr. 30.

This charmingly written life of Saint Ansgarius is by Father de Moreau, already known for his *Saint Amand, apôtre de la Belgique et du Nord de la France* and his excellent little manual of Church History. While based, necessarily, on the *Vita Anskarii*, it is obviously the fruit of wide research in the obscure field of ninth century history and covers much more ground than Robinson's *Anskar, the Apostle of the North*, hitherto the best easily available life of the saint.

As usual, buyers of books in English can only sigh when seeing a scholarly book of 160 pages, with sixteen illustrations and three maps, published for 30 francs! W. F. W.

Torchlights to the Cherokees: the Brainerd Mission. By Robert Sparks Walker. New York: Macmillan, 1931, pp. xi + 339. Illustrated. \$3.00.

This is a vivid circumstantial account of the mission to the Cherokees which the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established near Chattanooga in 1816, and very fittingly named after David Brainerd, that flaming young missionary to the Indians at the time of the Great Awakening in the eighteenth century. For more than twenty years—until the Cherokees were forcibly removed from Tennessee—the Brainerd Mission had a remarkable activity under the leadership of devoted and intelligent Congregationalists from New England. Now its great work is hardly a memory, albeit the name Missionary Ridge, the scene of a not insignificant engagement in the Civil War, preserves it from complete oblivion. The author of this volume has made excellent use of the copious records and correspondence of the Mission contained in the archives of the American Board. His work is a praiseworthy contribution to one phase—too much neglected—of American social and religious history. There must be many another similar forgotten chapter awaiting a narrator with the discernment that Mr. Walker displays. R. V. N.

Liber Sacramentorum: notes historiques et liturgiques sur le Missel Romain. By Cardinal Schuster, O.S.B. Vol. VII, *Les saints dans le mystère de la rédemption*. Paris: Vromant, 1931, pp. 404. Fr. 18.

The seventh volume of this learned work covers the Proper of Saints between March 4 and July 6. The essays included are on the first festal lists in the liturgical calendar, and on the prayers for ecclesiastical vocations.

P. V. N.

Père Girard, Educator. By Andrew Maas, O.M.C. (*Franciscan Studies*, no. 9.) New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1931, pp. x + 59. \$0.50.

A monograph on the career of a Franciscan teacher and educational reformer in French Switzerland during the first half of the nineteenth century. Girard's liberalism and his unconventional methods brought him under suspicion on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities, who forced his retirement from Fribourg; yet his varied accomplishments have won the commendation of leading educators throughout the world. With reason he has been called the "Catholic Pestalozzi." One of the chief indictments against him was his willingness to borrow pedagogical technique from Protestants. P. V. N.

National Apostasy. Considered in a Sermon preached in St. Mary's, Oxford, before His Majesty's Judges of Assize on Sunday, July 14, 1833; by John Keble, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College and Poetry Professor in the University of Oxford. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1931, pp. 24. 20c.

A very fitting reprint of Keble's famous sermon which inaugurated the Oxford Movement whose centenary we are about to celebrate.

One wonders if Keble ever dreamed that this sermon, on an Old Testament text, and full of Old Testament interpretation, was to be 'set for the falling and rising up of many in Israel'! Though it treats of an Apostolical Mind, Apostolical Authority, Apostolical Rights, and the Apostolical Church, the word 'Catholic' is not once used. May the reading of this sermon help in a measure to free Anglicans of to-day from some of the quite unhistorical and certainly unanglican illusions that have tended to pervert the Movement, in its present form, into an imitation of modern Romanism in doctrine, ceremonial, and terminology! The Oxford Movement took its origin from something far nobler than this.

Doctrine

Pathways to the Reality of God. By Rufus M. Jones. Macmillan, 1931, pp. xiii + 251. \$2.00.

This is a finely wrought and beautiful book—the author does that sort of thing. It covers much of the same ground as other modern theistic apologetics—order and other values in nature, evolution, history, Christ, faith, knowledge, prayer—with exceptional care and winningness. The chapter on mystical experience is a joy and delight. But philosophy seems to mean just idealism, culminating in Hegel. Man is "finite-infinite," but "infinite" does not "correspond to spiritual realities." The author does not commit himself to the mysticism against which Brunner writes, which holds that the ground of the soul in man is essentially divine; but he seems to come close to it, as idealists generally do. And although nature is good, spirit is so exalted that one almost gets the idea of a God of the spirits but not of their flesh, God of a spiritual realm but not of this world of physical forces. Spiritual monism seems always in the background. M. B. S.

Karl Barth, Prophet of a New Christianity? By Wilhelm Pauck. Harper, 1931, pp. 228. \$2.00.

Ample in quotation from Barth himself, sparing in criticism, designed rather to enable Barth to declare his message to us Americans than to settle his rating here and now, Professor Pauck's exposition is very satisfying. His criticisms are directed mainly against Barth's "supernaturalistic metaphysic" and his loyalty to the faith of historic Christianity; in this matter he says what probably most American Protestants would wish to say. He also criticizes the Barthian (Calvinist) idea of faith as the work of God in us, which almost reduces it to a process in which God believes himself; and here most of us find the criticism just, for here is a real source for fundamental doubt. The great thesis of the divine objective transcendence remains an authentic "prophecy" to this age. We wish the book had indicated that Barth and the Crisis-theology do not stand alone, or first, in the search for theocentric certainty in Germany, but occur in a rather broad stream of theological movement. M. B. S.

The Road to Reunion. By "a man in the ranks." Oxford: Blackwell, 1931, pp. 36. Paper, 1 s.

The road so earnestly pleaded for by this anonymous priest of the Church of England is none other than that of return to Rome, our ancient Mother. The Prayer Book liturgy is disparagingly compared with the canon of the Roman Mass, while to the latter is ascribed an antiquity and excellence unwarranted by the facts. Needless to say, the author has little patience with Anglican approaches to the Eastern Orthodox, and evinces no interest whatever in reunion with the Free Churches. P. V. N.

Anglo-Catholic Ideals. By Kenneth D. Mackenzie. New York: Macmillan, 1931, pp. 127. \$1.50.

A simple and remarkably clear exposition of the principles and practices of Anglo-Catholicism from the pen of one who himself both believes and practices. In scope it somewhat resembles Lacey's *Anglo-Catholic Faith*. The subjects treated are: the Church and its Ministry, Worship and Ceremonial, Reservation, the Confessional, the Catholic life of prayer, prospects for the future. On page 61 there is this strange statement, which surely ought to be challenged: "The Body and the Blood of Christ are the two central themes of all Christian theology." But Mr. Mackenzie may be thinking of the Incarnation and the Atonement. P. V. N.

Personality and Holy Communion: a fresh approach to the Eucharist. By D. S. Guy. With an Introduction by the Archbishop of York. London: Mowbray; Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1931, pp. xii + 170. \$2.00.

Canon Guy interprets the inexhaustible mystery of the Holy Communion with reference to its fruits—what the consensus of Christian experience shows it as doing in us and for us. It is 'the Way' to the Personality of Jesus—to union with Him—and through Him to union with God, the Supreme Reality.

It brings us with joyful adoration into the Presence; it cleanses us, strengthens us, unites us with God in love and achievement, gives us assurance of victory over death. The Holy Communion is robustly theocentric. "If it really reflects and embodies the Personality of Jesus, it ought to draw men off from themselves, and even beyond Jesus Himself, and to bring them into living union with the Father. To effect this it ought at each stage and in every particular to allow Jesus to mediate to us, not Himself only, but God the Father."

This 'fresh approach' is therefore in a measure a psychological study. Its spirit is so Catholic as to appeal to devout Christians of every name, save perhaps those who are utterly wedded to conventional Roman Catholic interpretations. Canon Guy acknowledges his particular debt to Archbishops Temple and D'Arcy, Canon Streeter, and Mr. Clement Webb. Written in terms of modern thought for the average intelligent Christian, the volume is admirably adapted for Lenten reading or for courses in personal religion. P. V. N.

Sakramentales Luthertum. Memorial number of *Die Hochkirche* in memory of Wilhelm Löhe. Ed. by Friedrich Heiler. Munich: Reinhardt, 1932, pp. 72. M. 1.80.

A collection of essays on one of the leaders of the High Church movement in Germany.

Apologetics

On the Religious Frontier: From an Outpost of Ethical Religion. By Percival Chubb. New York: Macmillan, 1931, pp. viii + 148. \$1.50.

This small book, written by a leader in the Ethical Society of St. Louis, is chiefly valuable as an attractively written exposition of contemporary Humanism. The writer finds himself living on the frontier where those who have moved out of the older religious associations of the Churches are drifting towards a life without any religious fellowship. He finds in the ethical societies a satisfying stopping place, where men can be free from the bondage to irrelevant dogmas and yet strengthened by companionships and group life for ethical living. The primacy and independence of the ethical intuitions give him his starting point. The service of the common good of the human fellowship is to him an adequate goal for living. Religion is for him the service of Truth and Justice. For worship in the sense of dependence and gratitude and adoration directed towards a God above man, he finds no place.

It is a frank and high-minded presentation of the position occupied by many of our finest neighbors outside the Churches and of a viewpoint not infrequent among those who still remain within the more, liberal Churches, without being quite at home there. Those who wish to understand appreciatively the "modern mood" will find it worth reading. A. D.

Psychology and God. By L. W. Grensted. Longmans, Green and Co., 1930, pp. xi + 257. \$4.00.

This book, which is in reality the Bampton Lectures for 1930 will be a disappointment to the reader who wishes to skim through every new volume in

half an hour's time. It contains a scant two hundred and fifty pages, but they are packed with intellectual meat, in spite of the fact that the author affirms in his preface that he is mainly an interested spectator in the field of psychology, his special training being for theology. As a theologian he has felt the challenge of present day psychological jargon, with the resultant enigma which it has presented to the minds of the clergy as well as the laity. Where there is much smoke there must be some fire, and Mr. Grensted rakes out the coals of truth from the dead embers and reveals what are the valid implications of recent psychology for religious belief and practice. He cautions the reader, however, that "the world do move," and that his study of the problem may be quite out of date within a few years. J. B. H.

Vital Realities: Essays In Order 5, 6, 7. By Carl Schmitt, Nicholas Berdyaev and Michael de la Bedoyere. New York: Macmillan, 1932, pp. 273. \$2.00.

Under an unilluminating title are gathered three more of the Roman Catholic series on the social significance of the Catholic faith and church. "The Necessity of Politics," by Dr. Schmitt of the University of Berlin, sets forth the essentially juridical and political character of the church, and its contemporary importance as a counter-weight to the exaggerations and the evils of industrialism. It is a wordy and in parts obscure essay, inferior to de la Bedoyere's lucid discussion of "The Drift of Democracy," which sketches the development of democratic theory from the Christian belief in the eternal value of the soul through the romantic philosophy of man's perfectibility to the present anti-democratic reaction. The author, not overlooking the gains of the movement, and favoring the continuance of democracy, sees in Catholicism its only sound philosophy and only hope of practical success.

Far more important than these essays is Berdyaev's "The Russian Revolution," which consists of two brilliant studies entitled "Russian Religious Psychology and Communistic Atheism" and "The Religion of Communism." Himself a professor of philosophy and a leader in the liberal wing of Russian orthodoxy among the emigres on the Continent, the author traces the development of millennial enthusiasm in modern Russia, ascribing the success of communism to this rather than the Marxian element or the economic factor. He contends that what is going on in Russia is not the destruction of religion but the substitution of the religion of communism for Christianity. The reviewer has no special knowledge enabling him to judge the validity of this thesis, but it is convincingly set forth and should help correct the superficial impression of many foreign observers that the defects of the Orthodox Church sufficiently explain the anti-religious Bolshevik policy. N. B. N.

Religion and Life. By W. B. Selbie. Harvard Univ. Press, 1930, pp. vi + 135. \$1.50.

The modern polemic against religion is waged on two fronts. Anthropologists derive religion from primitive fears, magic, tribal ritual, taboos, and what not. Psychologists find its reason for being in inferiority complexes, defense mechanisms, and other idols of the cave. In the series of William Belden Noble

lectures which constitute the present volume Principal Selbie rebuts both these lines of attack. He follows this with chapters concerning belief in God, the relation between religion and ethics, and the specifically Christian contribution to religion and ethics. Throughout he takes strong ground for an objective, as against a purely subjective and "value" theology. The work is well done and the writer's logic is devastating. One could wish, however, that the style were a little less formal. This is not the sort of book that you can't lay down. The fencing is skilful, but we are never moved to exclaim "Touche'."

C. L. D.

The New Reformation: The Church of England and the Fellowship of Churches. By Percy Dearmer. New York: Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. 31. 75c.

Dr. Dearmer's pamphlet is an attractive brief statement of the common point of view and outlook of the Anglican Communion. It is based very largely on the Reports and Encyclical of the recent Lambeth Conference. He finds the glory of the Anglican Church in her historic character, in the spirit of the Prayer Book, in the English Bible, in the liturgical setting of worship, in British and American hymnody and in other forms of art.

In other words, what he is setting forth is not a theological position, but the very ethos and spirit of Anglicanism as it views the future and the prospects of Reunion. We hope it will be possible to produce a second and much cheaper edition some time for general circulation.

If We Were Christians. By E. M. Lawrence Gould. New York: Dutton, 1931, pp. 135. \$1.25.

This brief outline of a typical "liberal Protestant" solution of the problems of Christian belief and living hardly comes up to the expectations raised by Bishop F. J. McConnell's enthusiastic foreword. Its weaknesses are typical—the theological and philosophical parts over-simple and vague, the value assigned to the church meagre indeed, and the social duty of the Christian conceived in terms almost exclusively of motive, with little attention to the institutional factor, and slight sense for the tensions and tragic contrasts between the Christian ideal for individual or society and the actuality. Nor is the inadequacy of the general viewpoint counterbalanced by any notable vigor or insight in the presentation. N. B. N.

The Answer or the Kingdom. By William Nesbit Roberts. Boston: The Gorham Press, 1931, pp. xviii + 172. \$2.00.

The somewhat ambiguous title of this book turns out to mean that the answer to our social and economic problems is the Kingdom of God made actual in human society. The book presents a case for state socialism, based on the history of the Children of Israel and the teaching of the Gospels. The economic interpretation of the Old Testament in the early chapters of the book is refreshing and stimulating. The case for state socialism at the end of the book

is doctrinaire. Laissez-faire and capitalism have proved and are still proving their futility in a fashion spectacular enough to satisfy the most fastidious foe of the present economic order. Certainly something ought to be done about it. But somehow Mr. Roberts' chapter on collective ownership and the new theocracy fails to bite into the real problem. The question is not so much how to find a new theory of the relation between the teachings of Christ and the present social order as how in this and this and this specific case to get that teaching applied. The Kingdom of God still needs its prophets—but it needs still more social engineers with a lot of first-hand knowledge about the details of our social and industrial organizations and with courage and consecration and common sense enough to lead us into the Promised Land. C. L. S.

Practical Theology

The Clinic of a Cleric. By W. A. Cameron. New York: Long and Smith, pp. 249. \$2.00.

Seventeen chapters based on the author's clinical experience as minister of Yorkminster Church, Toronto, and conductor of the Confessional Page of the *Toronto Star Weekly*. His point of view is very sane and thoroughly religious; his wide reading ranges over the whole field of literature. He is evidently very fond of poetry, for quotations litter his pages, including his prayers. Young priests interested in helping their people and young preachers anxious to maintain a wide range of reading will do well to make the acquaintance of this book.

Holy Matrimony. A broad-sheet. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 25c.

This broad-sheet contains "the Church's rules concerning marriage as set forth in Canon 41." It is a very convenient and legible sheet with a box outlined in red in the center giving special emphasis to the changes in the Canon. It would be well if this chart were given a place in every sacristy or church porch.

Greatness Passing By: Stories to Tell to Boys and Girls. By Hulda Niebuhr. New York: Scribner's, 1931, pp. xxi + 160. \$1.50.

Miss Niebuhr of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church has gathered together in this volume a fine collection of stories intended to "fill a need unsatisfied since boys and girls became bored with the old-fashioned story with a moral."

The twenty-four stories have been well-chosen and cover a wide range; the third, for example, is about 'The Other Prophet' (Micaiah); the following one is about 'A Zinc-Lined Piano'—a story about Albert Schweitzer. The title is appropriately taken from John Drinkwater's lines,

"When the high heart we magnify,
And the sure vision celebrate,
And worship greatness passing by,
Ourselves are great."

A Modern View of the Old Testament. By William G. Shute. New York: Macmillan, 1932, pp. xx + 151. \$1.50.

Mr. Shute has used the material found in this volume in the course in Old Testament Studies at Choate School. It begins with a description of ancient manuscripts, and then tells the story of the Old Testament.

It is a pity that some one did not go through the manuscript before it was published and correct some of its inaccuracies and slovenly expressions. Some of the dates are hard to explain; for example, JE is completed about 650 which is also the date of Deuteronomy, or rather, of the "D-editors" (pp. 87 f). Finally, one can only wonder what was in the author's mind when he describes (p. 133) the 'rejection' of the Gospels—apparently by the Jewish Council of Jamnia. Before another edition is produced, these and other matters should be revised.

Homiletics

Difficulties in the Way of Discipleship. By H. F. B. Mackay. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1931, pp. 93. \$1.50.

The brilliant vicar of All Saints', Margaret Street, has given us here a half dozen fresh pulpit studies of six of the apostles. The sub-titles of the chapters show Father Mackay's ability to come at once to the point and his aptness in phrasing. St. Matthew exhibits "The Difficulty of a Bad Past;" St. Thomas, "of a narrow outlook;" St. Simon, "of a false ideal;" St. Andrew (and here the writer is not so apt for the title is a bungling one), of "a lack of appreciation of the difficulty;" St. Peter, "of an ardent love;" St. John, "of a clear spiritual vision." I wonder if it was a printer's mistake that this chapter is the only one where the sub-title does not appear above the text heading.

These are suggestive Lenten talks, for in Lent we meet a great strain both upon pastors and people, and it is well to face frankly the difficulties of our discipleship and to see how the original followers of our Master overcame them.

G. C. S.

On Being Alive. By Walter Russell Bowie. Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1931, pp. 252. \$2.00.

In France one day Dr. Bowie received from a small boy at home a letter which concluded with these words, "I hope you will live *all your life*." Out of that cheerfully explicit desire of the boy that the author would come to no untimely end, Dr. Bowie has expanded a vastly bigger meaning. Live *all* your life, not a part, but the whole, and with alert awareness of all life's possibilities, at full stretch of all finer energies, with power and with joy—that is the subject which suggested a course of three lectures "On Being Alive" given in the winter of 1931 at the Virginia Theological Seminary. To these chapters which originally included only "Being Alive to the Beauty of the Earth," and "to People" and "to God," the Rector of Grace Church, New York has now added three more on "Being Alive to Truth" and "to Poetry," and one on "Life after Life."

Dr. Bowie writes with great vigor and charm. These chapters are something other than essays or even sermons. They have the quiet studied literary form of the essay plus the fire of the prophet. They have the eager earnest note of the pulpit with something of the leisureliness and bookishness of the study.

Clergymen will find them suggestive, and inspiring. The tired business man will find them a tonic to his jaded and discouraged spirit. G. C. S.

Outlines of Teaching Sermons for a Year. Ed. by C. E. Hudson. London: Allen and Unwin, 1931, pp. 111. 2/-.

Just what the title describes. It may be that the sermons will not be as useful in this country as in England. However, the American parish priest will surely find something useful in it if only the demonstration of a method—that is, of careful, painstaking preparation for teaching that takes the form of sermons.

The Parables of Emile the Mystic. By Mileham L. O'Harra. Badger, 1931, pp. 164. \$2.00.

Anecdotes, with simple religious lessons drawn therefrom, mystical only if the use of stories to point a moral is mystical; just what one hears in sermonettes. M. B. S.

Schöpfung und Sünde in der natürlich-geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit des einzelnen Menschen. (Beiträge zur systematischen Theologie, i.) By Emanuel Hirsch. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1931, pp. 130. M. 8.60.

In considerable affinity with Kierkegaard and the Dialectic Theology, the author finds every man in the paradoxical position of being, as a free person, both a work of God and a sinner against God. To be a free creature is to be a sinner. And to be a sinner is to be a sinner all through, not simply spotted with sins. Reconciliation comes only through atoning grace in Christ. M. B. S.

Devotional

The Vision of Victory. By Richard H. Nelson. Morehouse, 1931, pp. xii + 213. \$2.50.

A devotional interpretation of the Book of Revelation which gains in significance when one realizes that it was written by the late Bishop of Albany during the period of declining health following upon his retirement in 1929, and represents as it were his last public message. It is manifestly a labor of deep love, and though intended according to the author for "young people who can see visions and who are called to high adventure in the spiritual world," its mellow faith and tranquil confidence make it, like the Revelation itself, a book "full of comfort for all who have struggled through the sorrows and trials of the present life." The author's conception of the Revelation may be further gathered from such characterizations of it as "an epic poem of human life," "a book of struggle and courage for those to whom vision does not mean illusion." The school of interpretation, if one must be named, is the so-called "continuous-historical." C. B. H.

Methods of Self-Examination. Foreword by E. A. Down. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1931, pp. v + 26. 30c.

A series of twelve different methods of self-examination put forward by a group of priests. It is thoroughly scholastic in tone.

Let Us Keep Lent. By Gerhard E. Lenski. Harper, 1932, pp. ix + 104. \$1.00.

A little book of seven chapters, each containing Lenten meditations for a week, as follows: How to Keep Lent; Drawing Near to God; Jesus and Men; What Jesus Gave (two chapters); Why Did He Die?; Dying, He Lives.

Each meditation is followed by excerpts from modern writers and concludes with a prayer. Many persons not accustomed to keeping Lent will surely find this little volume not only a stimulus but a real help.

A Prayer of Sonship. By B. F. Simpson, with an Int. by the Bishop of London. Longmans, 1932, pp. xi + 111. \$1.00.

Of the making of books—at least of the Bishop of London's Lenten books—there is no end. Each year the Bishop manages to pick out some stimulating author or preacher who provides a little book for Lenten reading, not only in the Diocese of London but now throughout the world. The subject of this book is the Lord's Prayer.

Communion With God. By Elmore McNeill McKee. With a foreword by Ernest Freemont Tittle. New York: Long and Smith, 1932, pp. xiv + 198. \$1.75.

This is a little book of 'prayers of reality for chapel, pastoral, and private use.' Most of them were used by the author when he was chaplain at Yale University.

In addition to those composed by the author there are a number of 'short prayers collected from many sources; and a number of prayers for the opening and conclusion of worship. A great many pastors, we trust, will find help and suggestion in this book. It is enough to say to churchmen that the fine devotional spirit of the Prayer Book characterizes the volume.

Miscellaneous

Un Clerc qui n'a pas trahi. By Sylvain Leblanc. Paris: E. Nourry, 1931, pp. 102. 10 fr.

In this little book M. Leblanc sustains the thesis that the sincerity of Dr. Loisy's career as a modernist should never have been questioned: that his whole life, both before and after his modernistic adventure, is a unit, and is permeated with entire honesty throughout. To non-Frenchmen the truth of this thesis is so obvious as not to be worth arguing, but in France this truth is not obvious at all. To the French mind, in fact, there are really only two respectable religious alternatives, ultramontanist and free thought. And to both ultra-

montanes and free thinkers modernism is anathema. To the former (as in Rivière) it is conscious treachery to religion, to the latter (as in Houtin) it is conscious treachery to the truth. B. S. E.

The Adventure of Mankind. By Eugen Georg. Tr. from the German by R. Bek-Gran. New York: Dutton, 1931, pp. xx + 325. \$5.00.

Another addition to the Catastrophic Literature which is as popular today as the Apocalyptic of 2000 years ago. The book contains an account of the lost continent of Atlantis, of a series of moons which in turn fall upon the earth and produce naturally great catastrophes (our present moon to be no exception) a plea for more magic, a theory of evolution dominated by the stars and much besides. The reviewer questioned an astronomer on the author's prognostications about the moon and was relieved to hear that there is no cause for immediate alarm: the rate of the moon has increased slightly within recorded time and although this might be because it is getting closer to the earth, it might also be due to other causes. The book should be intensely interesting to Theosophists and to all who indulge in Cosmic speculations. A. H. F.

The Story of the Devil. By Arturo Graf. Tr. from the Italian by E. N. Stone. New York: Macmillan, 1931, pp. xiv + 296. \$3.00.

This book begins with a chapter on the origin of the devil and ends with one on the causes of his loss of 'popularity.' The main section is a collection of the beliefs of the Middle Ages on the manners, methods and customs of devils derived from a great number of ancient and not easily accessible documents. It is an illustration of the fact that human credulity is stranger and more dangerous than human incredulity. The original was written in 1889 and the author's optimistic faith in the progress of civilization under the guiding light of science is almost as naïve today as the medieval beliefs which he so delicately satirises. A. H. F.

Stained Glass Windows. By Margaret Munsterberg. New York: Literary Publications, 1931, pp. 64.

Many of the poems in this volume are religious, and reflect the fine taste and deep feeling of a catholic-minded christian soul.